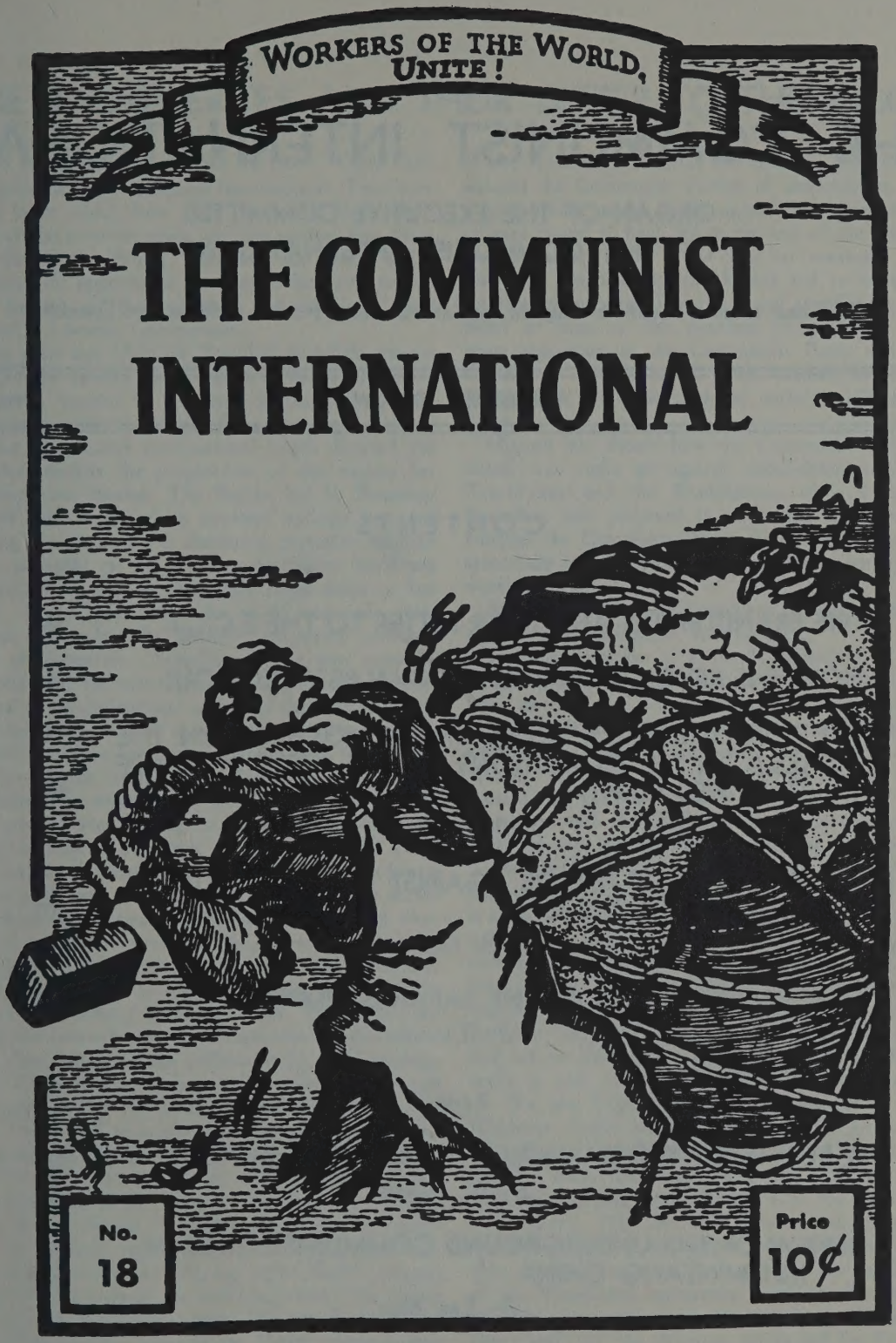

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THE BRANDLERITES AND THEIR LETTER TO THE E.C.C.I.

SIX years have passed since the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International. They have been years which have fully confirmed the correctness of the estimate made and the tactical line given by the Sixth World Congress—six years which smashed all opportunist theories to bits and turned new millions of the oppressed and exploited in all countries towards Communism.

Six years ago Heinrich Brandler raised the banner of struggle against the decisions of the Sixth World Congress, against its estimate of the international situation, against the whole of the tactics and strategy of the Communist International which directed the Parties towards the preparation of the masses for decisive class battles. The Rights, led by Brandler, stated that at the given moment nothing new was taking place which was shattering capitalist stabilization, and that on the contrary capitalism was being reconstructed and on the whole stood more or less firm. But a year later the world economic crisis began, shattering the unstable temporary stabilization of capitalism. Stabilization has now come to an end and the transition is taking place to a new round of revolutions and wars, and the idea of storming capitalism is now maturing in the consciousness of the masses in the capitalist countries. At the time of the relative stabilization of capitalism, the Rights considered it necessary to put forward the demand for control over production, which would have led to an increase of reformist illusions among the working masses, illusions as to the possibility of the peaceful growth into socialism. But now, even the social-democrats in Germany and Austria have been compelled to throw overboard their theories as to the possibility of the peaceful growth into socialism. Reformist illusions are now being shattered, and the masses are turning to Communism. The Rights denied the necessity for the independent leadership of the class battles of the proletariat by the Communists, which was equivalent to rejecting the struggle altogether. But the struggle developed in spite of the wishes of social-democracy and the reformist trade unions. Mighty class battles, which will forever become part of the history of the working class movement, took place under Communist leadership. The Rights denied the necessity for a most determined struggle against the "Left" wing of social-democracy, who, by playing with "Left" phrases and cleverly tricking the workers, prevent the masses from leaving social-democracy. But everybody is clear now that it was thanks to his "Left" phrases alone that Otto Bauer succeeded in subordinating the workers to his capitulatory policy which led to the defeat of the Austrian proletariat in February. The Rights accused the Communist Parties of sectarianism, and proposed such tactics of the united front *from above* as were bound to have led to the loss of the Parties' independence. Now it is clear to everyone that the path proposed by the Rights led to complete capitulation to social-democracy and actually brought many of them to this position, placing them into open opposition to the Communist Party and the Communist International, and transforming the Rights into an appendage of social-democracy in collapse.

History has shown how the Communist International was right as against social-democracy, the Trotzkyites and the Brandlerites, while Heinrich Brandler, who prepared to undertake a "drive" to conquer the Communist International, has been left splendidly isolated from the mass movement of the working class.

Such is the result of Brandler's six years' "drive" against the Communist International.

Heinrich Brandler is evidently beginning to realize this himself, as in June, 1934, he addressed a letter to the E.C.C.I. on behalf of the "small bureau" of the International Association of the Communist Opposition (I.V.K.O.) proposing that representatives of the "I.V.K.O." be invited to the Seventh Congress of the C.I. to raise the question there of "collaboration with the C.I." and the "restoration of the unity of the International Communist Movement".

On behalf of the "small bureau. . . ." How important it sounds! Of course, we understand that it is more convenient for Brandler to carry on negotiations as from one "international" to another, and not merely on behalf of his little group, and that it pays Lovestone, Bringolf, and Hubert to act together with Brandler so as to create the impression that they are of some importance. None the less, we are obliged to clear up what the "I.V.K.O." really is and what "organizations" are affiliated to it. We are helped in such an investigation by a statement issued by the All-German Conference of Brandlerites, according to which it would appear that the "I.V.K.O." now has four groups affiliated to it: (1) the German *Brandlerites,* (2) the American *Lovestonites,* (3) the little Shafhausen group in Switzerland led by the Burgomaster and police president Bringolf, in which, according to the resolution of the Brandlerite conference, there are "tendencies towards a rapprochement with Centrism and Trotzkyism", and (4) the Alsatian group led by Hubert, which, according to the same resolution, carries on an "impermissible policy of coalition with bourgeois

organizations" and the leader of which has just been expelled from the "I.V.K.O." by Brandler's "small bureau" as an enemy of the working class. As for Kilbom's "Communist Party" of Sweden and the Mot Dag group in Norway, which formerly belonged to Brandler's "international," they have become, according to the same resolution, "Centrist-reformist" organizations which are against the Comintern and the U.S.S.R. in principle and carry on a struggle against the latter together with the reformists and the Trotzkyites.

But we may also be interested in the question as to what are these various organizations which are affiliated to the "I.V.K.O.," *i.e.*, to the Brandlerite "international". The political correctness of the Communist International has long since become clear to those workers whom Brandler led away from the C.P.G. in 1928 and Lovestone from the C.P. U.S.A. in 1929. The workers who supported Brandler in 1928 have long since returned to the C.P. of Germany. The majority of Lovestone's supporters who were expelled from the C.P. of the U.S.A. in 1929 have long ago been accepted back into the C.P.U.S.A. Brandler and Lovestone had some influence as long as they were able to trick the workers into believing that they were for the Comintern. But as soon as this trickery was exposed, hardly anyone was left in the Brandlerite and Lovestone groups except the leaders themselves, who were obviously gravitating towards social-democracy. History proved this by the fact that some of the Brandlerite leading group passed directly into the ranks of German social-democracy, and joined Wels and Stampfer (Frank, Rebeun, Koenig, etc.), while others (Welcher, Betcher, Froelich, Keller, Ruck, etc.) found haven in the leading posts of the "Left reformist" "Socialist Workers' Party" which, together with the Trotzkyites, tried to form a "fourth international" and which after the breakdown of this effort, is strongly gravitating towards joining the Second International. The Comintern was right when it stated that Brandlerism is only an intermediate stage, only a bridge to social-democracy, to reformism. Brandler worked for social-democracy, for Wels and Severing, but also for the Second International against the interests of the working class. One after another, Brandler's political friends left him, taking the path *to the Right* or *to the Left*. Brandler himself remained with an ever diminishing number of colleagues, stubbornly repeating the old story that he "wanted" (!!) to win (!!) the Communist International and to reform (!!) its policy. In order to attach some weight to this balderdash, he established his "International Association" which is just as negligible as Brandler's organization itself.

But what is it that unites *Brandler, Lovestone, Hubert* and *Bringolf?* They were expelled from the Communist International at various times and for various reasons. *Brandler* and his friends were expelled in connection with the fact that they took the path of struggle for their Right capitulatory line, spoke against the program and the tactics of the Comintern, and began an open factional struggle against the C.P.G. and the C.I., refusing to recognize any party or international discipline. *Hubert* and Co., were expelled for adopting a bourgeois-nationalist position and for forming a coalition with bourgeois chauvinist and imperialist groups, a state of affairs which is even condemned in the resolution adopted by the Brandlerite conference, and for which even Brandler expelled Hubert a few days ago. *Bringolf* was expelled for departing from the most elementary principles of the class struggle, and now, as police president, he prohibits Communist anti-fascist demonstrations. *Lovestone,* who defended the bourgeois theory of American exceptionalism and prosperity, was removed from the leadership of the C.P.U.S.A. for introducing crooked commercial methods of unprincipled struggle into the Party when defending his bourgeois theories, and was expelled when he violated the elementary obligations of a Party member by continuing not only to advocate his Right-wing views but also these methods. In search of a platform he joined Brandler for the struggle against the C.P.U.S.A. and the Comintern.

If Brandler, in order to form an army for struggle against the Comintern, united all who had, for various reasons, been thrown out of its ranks, then nothing could come of this but an *unprincipled* bloc of the representatives of various bourgeois and so-social-democratic tendencies.

In his letter to the E.C.C.I. Heinrich Brandler states that "the representatives of the I.V.K.O." propose at the Seventh World Congress to raise the question of the "restoration of constant and regular collaboration between the C.P.G. and the C.P.G.-O. [the Brandlerites—Ed.], in Germany for the struggle against the fascist dictatorship, for the defense of the Soviet Union, against reformism, Centrism and Trotzkyism". But if Brandler and Co. really intend to raise this question, why wait for the Seventh World Congress, and what has representation of the "I.V.K.O." got to do with this? Heinrich Brandler and Halm, Tittel and Smolka know that the C.C. of the C.P.G. exists, and know where to find its representatives. There is nothing simpler than to raise these questions before the C.C. C.P.G., before the Congress takes place.

Further, Heinrich Brandler states in his letter that the representatives of the "I.V.K.O." propose to raise the question at the Seventh World Congress of "restoring constant and regular collaboration between the sections of the Communist International and the sections of the I.V.K.O. in the struggle against

fascism and the danger of imperialist war, in defense of the Soviet Union, against reformism, Centrism, Trotzkyism," *i.e.*, "collaboration" between the Communist International and Lovestone, Bringolf, etc. But if they really want to collaborate with the Communist Parties, why do they not make such proposals to the Communist Parties of the U.S.A., France and Switzerland?

Finally, Brandler states that the representatives of the "I.V.K.O." will raise the question of the "restoration of the organizational unity of the Communist movement in various countries and on an international scale".

"On an international scale"—why such a sonorous word? "On behalf of the International Association" —why such a mania for greatness? Whom do Brandler and Co. want to deceive? Why does Brandler in 1934 adopt the trader's methods used by Lovestone in 1929?

If Brandler and Co. really want unity with the Communists, if they want to carry on negotiations and even to participate in the Seventh Congress, they must realize that they have not, by their six years' of struggle against the Comintern, set fire to any ocean, that they have not organized any "drive" and that they are isolated from the masses, and that it is for this very reason that they need negotiations regarding "collaboration" with the Comintern, or about being accepted back into the ranks of the Communist Parties.

Do the political prerequisites exist for negotiations on such unity? As for the Brandler group, we may consider the following facts to constitute certain prerequisites for such negotiations, *viz*:—(a) Brandler's group has come out against the social-democratic and Trotzkyite estimate of the international situation and the Trotzkyite slander of the U.S.S.R. and the C.P.S.U.; (b) the Brandler group has revised its *estimate of social-democracy*, and recognized that the defeat of the working class in Germany and Austria is the result of the social-democratic policy; (c) this group has recognized that the "Left" Socialist Labor Party and the Trotzkyites supply the reformists with their ideology so as to keep the workers from going over to Communism.

However, the fact that the Brandlerites have partially *abandoned* their former outlook on these important points is not sufficient. For any negotiations to be made possible what is needed is that Brandler or his "small bureau" (it seems to us that this is one and the same thing) should openly repudiate this chatter about the "reform of the Communist International" which found expression in the resolution adopted recently by the Brandlerite Reichsconference. Brandler avoids this question in his letter to the E.C.C.I., and declares that he wants to "defend his views only within the framework of *Communist discipline inside the Communist Party and inside the C.I.*" But he casts doubt on this declaration to the E.C.C.I. by his statement to his supporters that he is "getting ready" again for a "drive" against the C.I.

Of course we know that Brandler will remain at home on this occasion as well, that all this was said with a view to raising his own spirits, but the Communist Party and the Comintern cannot carry on any negotiations with people whose tongues or pens are independent of their minds.

Brandler's "small bureau" understands the difficult position it is in. Therefore, this "small bureau" proposes two alternatives at one and the same time, namely, a minimum proposal about collaboration, and a maximum proposal about being accepted into the Party wholesale or retail, the Brandlerites alone or the "entire I.V.K.O."

As far as Germany is concerned, however, the minimum alternate cannot be a *bloc* between the Communists and the Brandlerites, as Brandler proposes, nor can it be an ordinary *united front* after the fashion of the agreement made between the French Communists and the French Socialist Party. It can only take the form of *support* by the Brandlerite group of the policy and actions of the C.P.G. both in the propaganda of the principles of Communism and the organization of the mass struggle against the fascist dictatorship, and in the struggle for the formation of illegal trade unions as organs of the class struggle of the proletariat. Any attempts by the Brandlerite groups to conduct an independent policy among the masses would amount to helping social-democracy and not a struggle against it, would mean encouraging the S.W.P.-ites (Socialist Workers Party) ("Centrists," to use Brandler's terminology) and the Trotzkyites, and not a struggle against them, would weaken the working class movement and not strengthen it, and would contradict the task of strengthening the power and unity of the international Communist movement. To bring about such joint activity between the Brandlerite groups and the C.P.G., the decisions neither of the Seventh World Congress, nor of the E.C.C.I., nor of the C.C. of the C.P.G. are required. What is needed is simply an open declaration by the Brandlerites that they will not carry on a struggle against the Communist Party and will not conduct any policy which conflicts with the line of the C.I. and the C.P.G. After such a declaration, it would not be difficult to establish informational contacts and technical mutual aid, as Brandler proposes.

The operation of such a minimum alternative is fully possible in the U.S.A., in Switzerland and in Alsace.

But the "inner bureau" of the "I.V.K.O." and Brandler evidently prefer the maximum alternative.

Brandler writes the following in the letter to the E.C.C.I.:

> "Finally the Communist Opposition is of the opinion that, taking into account the present state of the international working class movement, it would be useful to verify at joint meetings whether the prerequisites exist at the present time and to what extent they do so for overcoming the divisions between the Communist Parties and the Communist Oppositions, or could these prerequisites be established. The C.P.-O., on its part, has always only demanded the opportunity to put forward its views within the framework of Communist discipline, inside the C.P. and the C.I., and it advances no other demands at the present time. It would further be necessary, by the participation of representatives of the C.P.-O., to settle whether it is possible, and if so, to what extent, to overcome the tactical differences which have existed up to the present."

The Communist Parties of Germany, France, U.S.A. and Switzerland will have no objections to the meetings proposed by Brandler. But in view of the fact that the four Brandlerite groups differ to a great extent from each other, that they were expelled from the C.P.'s and the C.I. for various reasons, the only thing that could bring useful results would be for each national group of the Brandlerite-Lovestoneite association to apply to the C.C. of the corresponding Communist Party. The program, the chief decisions of the Communist Parties and the Comintern on tactics and principles, have been published in the press and are known to everyone, including Brandler, Lovestone and Bringolf. They and their supporters must clearly and plainly state whether they can call these decisions their own. For the Communist Parties of all countries, tremendous importance is attached to the call of the E.C.C.I. on March 5, 1933, in connection with the united front, and its decision of April 1, 1933, regarding the situation in Germany. Do Brandler and Co. accept these decisions? Do Brandler, Lovestone and Bringolf, each one individually, accept the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.? If Brandler and Co. want to turn towards the Communist International, if they desire unity with the Communists, if they want to return to the C.I., they must *openly and publicly recognize the correctness of the Comintern, of its program, of the decisions of its Congresses, of its last decisions regarding the united front and on Germany, and its tactics and discipline.* Brandler and his group left the C.P.G. as opponents in principle of the program and tactics of the C.P.G., on extremely important questions of the class struggle. *They can only return as its supporters.* The Communist International is a single world Party of struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the proletarian revolution. It is an international of people who think and act alike, and only as such can it ensure the success of the proletarian revolution, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the victory of socialism. The Communist Parties cannot allow any of their members to carry on propaganda for views and opinions which differ from the decisions of their congresses and plenums and the decisions of the C.I. Freedom of groupings and factions directly contradicts the foundations of the Communist Party. Therefore the Comintern and the Communist Parties will not allow anyone the liberty to carry on propaganda for their special views which differ from those of the Comintern.

The question of the possibility of the return to the C.I. of the Brandlerites and others who were expelled from its ranks depends therefore on the nature of the *guarantees they can give regarding their complete and unquestioned submission to the discipline of their Party and the Communist International.*

Let them choose—the Communist International or the inglorious and useless half-starved existence of the insignificant Brandler-Lovestoneite groups, while the masses of the social-democratic workers are turning towards the Communist International.

The Right opportunists who were preparing under Brandler's leadership to "make a drive" against the Comintern, have suffered complete collapse. But the Right danger still remains the chief danger for the Communist Parties. It is manifested in various links in the Party and among individual members in the shape of an *opportunist estimate of the international situation, in capitulation to social-democracy when conducting the tactics of the united front, in the tendency to give up the independence of the Communists in work in the mass organizations,* and even in the abandonment of these organizations, allegedly for the sake of the united front. Only a stubborn struggle against the Right deviation and at the same time against "Leftism" and sectarianism will enable us to ensure that we shall win over the majority of the working class to the side of the Communists and prepare the masses for decisive class battles.

Therefore, *strengthen the fire against the opportunists.*

HOW THE REVOLUTION IN SPAIN CAN BE VICTORIOUS

THE revolution in Spain has already continued for over four years. During this period of time the Spanish working class, the Spanish peasants and the masses of the urban petty bourgeoisie have carried on tremendously heroic struggles against the capitalists and landlords, against the armed forces of counter-revolution. During all these years we have seen the rise of powerful waves of the most varied revolutionary activity by the working and peasant masses. At times they have taken the form of tremendous political and economic strikes, general strikes covering entire cities and provinces, and at others they were expressed in fierce, semi-spontaneous and in some places armed conflicts, in mass incendiarism, in the seizure of land, cattle, crops and property. From time to time the powerful national-liberation movement has come to the fore-front, embracing millions of the oppressed people of Catalonia, Biscay and Galecia, in the struggle against the Spanish imperialists. Tempestuous mass demonstrations of women have taken place against high prices; there have been demonstrations of the unemployed; a broad anti-fascist struggle; and a wave of students' strikes, etc., etc.

Nevertheless, in spite of over four years of heroic revolutionary struggle, the working class and the peasants have not yet been able to conquer the bourgeois-landlord bloc. And in spite of the advancing course of the revolution, in spite of the fact that the bourgeois-landlord power has cracked again and again under the heavy blows of revolution and cannot, do what it may, consolidate itself, nevertheless the counter-revolutionary classes are feverishly organizing their forces and carrying on a daily attack on the working class and the peasants, preparing to pass over to an open fascist dictatorship.

In such circumstances, the masses are more and more clearly being faced with the question of the necessity for seizing power, because they do not now want the regime which brings exploitation, oppression and poverty, they do not want to live in the fascist hell which the bourgeoisie are preparing for them. A characteristic feature of the situation in Spain at the present time is that the struggle for power does not appear as a question of the distant future. The vast majority of the working class and even the revolutionary section of the peasantry are already *beginning* to realize that if the proletariat and toiling peasants do not want to be defeated by the counter revolution, they must seize power by revolutionary means. The idea of storming the fortress of the bourgeois-landlord power is rapidly maturing not only in the consciousness of the workers who follow the Communists but also in that of the socialist workers and the anarchists. Another peculiarity of the situation is that just at the time when the idea of the necessity of the struggle for power is rising in the ranks of the working class, the movement of the oppressed peoples against Spanish imperialism (in Catalonia and Biscay) has reached unparalleled proportions.

But while the objective situation is developing so favorably for the working class, which is seeking a way out by means of the seizure of power, the working class itself is in an extremely scattered condition. In Spain the working class is more scattered than the proletariat in any other big European capitalist country, although it may be that in no other capitalist country is there such a striving towards the united front and the *class unity* of the proletariat as in Spain, and only in a few countries could the working class be so well organized as in Spain if the various existing trade union organizations were united. Therefore the question of uniting the forces of the working class, the question of the correct revolutionary leadership of these forces at the present moment is one of the fundamental questions on the solution of which depends the fate of the Spanish revolution.

The struggle between revolution and counter-revolution cannot continue endlessly. Precisely because the forces of revolution are growing tempestuously, fascism is everywhere preparing to engage in decisive battles, and is developing war on an enormous scale against the toiling masses. It is therefore a life and death question for the working class and peasants to get ahead of fascism and to seize power in the shortest possible time. It is for this reason that it seems to us that we must raise here some questions which are connected in the closest degree with the situation which has arisen in Spain at the present time.

What is the alignment of forces at the present moment in the ranks of the working class of Spain?

At the moment, two forces have the leadership over what amounts to the majority of the working class, and these are social-democracy and anarchism. The Communists are still in the minority, though the future belongs to them and no others. The anarchists carry with them the majority of the workers of Catalonia (where a third of the Spanish pro-

letariat are concentrated) and have very strong influence in such important centers as Saragossa, Valencia, etc. But in the four years of the revolution, the anarchists have three times already led the workers following them to defeat (December 1932, January 1933, and December 1933). This has mainly been the result of the fact that the anarchists deny the necessity of the struggle of the workers and peasants for power, the necessity for creating a new revolutionary power of the workers and peasants in place of the bourgeois-landlord State machine shattered by the proletariat. These defeats are to be explained by the fact that the anarchists bring forward the question of power and approach the question of uprising in a putschist fashion. They claim that an uprising is always possible, and that all that is required to bring it about is suitable technical and military preparations. The anarchists do not want to understand that a revolutionary situation is essential if victory is to be assured to the workers' and peasants' revolution, and this presupposes as one of its main features the active participation of the broadest masses in the struggle for power. A phrase used by the anarchist leadership is noteworthy: "The national confederation of labor", they say, "will manage by itself." This phrase is the clearest expression of this sectarian putschist attitude which divides up the working class, and, by bringing its separate parts under the blows of the counter revolution, leads it to defeat. Combined with these putschist tactics, the neglectful attitude of the anarchists to the everyday needs of the working class, their playing at general strikes, and their hostile attitude towards the Soviet Union, are the chief factors explaining why the anarchist "risings", which the bourgeoisie have so frequently made use of, have brought defeat to the working masses.

It is plain that these adventurist tactics and the impasse into which the anarchists have led the masses who follow them, were inevitably bound to cause a strong ferment and discontent among the workers under anarchist influence. It is plain that the anarchist workers and, under such conditions, even some of the leaders, are asking themselves the question: "What next, where are we going?" Of course, the sad experience of the three "anarchist revolutions" has compelled and continues to compel many honest anarchist fighters to think over the question: "Why is it that the heroism of the workers and peasants who took part in the armed struggles organized by the anarchists have produced no results?"

It is clear that the number of anarchist workers who support the united front of joint action with the socialists and Communists is on the increase, despite the campaign of slander carried on by the official anarchist press, and that at the present time they regard the U.S.S.R. not as "Red fascism", but as their hope, and their future. It is all so plain that the idea that power must be seized by revolutionary methods *in the same way as the Russian Bolsheviks did* is beginning to mature in the minds of many honest workers and active anarchists. It is true that while these changes are to be observed in the sentiments of the masses and of certain of the active anarchists, the official leaders of the anarchists are doing everything in their power to restrain the strivings of the working masses towards the united front of action, so as to further continue the split in the working class, and so as to hinder a real struggle against fascism and reaction, and thus to render difficult the preparation of the masses for the revolutionary seizure of power.

But if such sentiments in favor of the united front are to be met with among the anarchist workers and a section of the anarchist actives, then among the working class followers of the Social-Democratic Party the turn is still more complete and clear. The majority of the social-democratic workers have taken up a position against the Right leaders of the Social-Democratic Party and trade unions and are demanding the adoption of revolutionary methods of struggle. Under the pressure of the working masses all the open Right leaders in the party and the trade unions were dismissed during recent months. Under such conditions it is not surprising that the leaders of the Socialist Party, headed by Largo Caballero, (who openly collaborated with the bourgeois-landlord bloc until the summer of 1933 by taking part in their government and forcing through all kinds of laws and measures directed against the revolutionary workers and peasants) now declare, after the bourgeoisie and landlords have thrown them out of the government, that they are in favor of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and of the violent overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and landlords. These socialist leaders say that only the Social-Democratic Party has sufficient authority among the masses to stand at the head of them in the storming of power, while the little Communist Party, in their opinion, cannot do this because it is followed by only a minority of the proletariat.

We have no intention of disputing the fact that the C.P. of Spain is not yet a big mass party, although, as the socialist leaders are well aware, it has already become a big factor in the revolutionary movement of Spain, a factor which not only the bourgeoisie and the landlords but also the social-democratic leaders have to reckon with. But leaving this question aside for the moment, we ask the following: Who was correct on all the decisive questions of the Spanish revolution—the comparatively little Communist Party or the big Social-Democratic Party? The Social-Democratic Party saw the peace-

ful path to socialism in the April Republic. Taking this estimate of the bourgeois republic as its starting point, the Social-Democratic Party entered the government, crushed the revolutionary movement of the masses, who, soon after the April rising, began more and more to understand that this was not their republic, that this republic was not giving them what they were striving for, namely, liberation from servitude to the capitalists and landlords, land for the peasants, freedom for the oppressed peoples, food for the unemployed, and improved conditions of life for the working class.

The Communists stated that the bourgeois-landlord republic could not satisfy the requirements of the toiling masses, that it would lead to the restoration of the blackest counter revolution, and that it was therefore necessary to go further. The working class and the revolutionary peasants, they declared, must overthrow the domination of the bourgeoisie and the landlords, and take power into their own hands. Thus, if the working masses have already become clear on the basic question of the revolution, the question of the necessity for the working class to seize power, this is to the credit of the Communist Party, which, after the April rising, faced the masses with the question of the struggle for the revolutionary way out. And at that time it was no easy task to raise this question, because the masses in the main believed in the socialists who assured them that the bourgeois-landlord republic would lead them to socialism.

Our Communist Party raised the question of the agrarian revolution, the question of the land, in good time. It explained that the revolution could not be carried through in Spain without the peasants. But social-democracy, which took part in the government, refused to give the land to the peasants, and even the basic points of the belated and distorted agrarian reform were not carried out by the republican-socialist government.

The same was the case with all other questions. Precisely because our Party advocated a correct revolutionary line, and foresaw the course of events, its influence is growing, (although it has not yet won the majority of the working class) because it expresses the revolutionary strivings and the most profound interests of the masses.

Of course, we are far from thinking that the leaders of the Socialist Party who formerly collaborated with the bourgeoisie have now suddenly abandoned their past and have passed over to the real revolutionary path. But we are quite well aware of what is going on among the rank and file, among the socialist masses who want revolution, who want to march to the conquest of power, and we know that all this is bound to exert its influence on some of the leaders of the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party, its press and various leaders, are at present not only expressing themselves in favor of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the violent overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and the landlords, but even criticize German and Austrian social-democracy. Some of them even recognize what the Communists have always stated, namely, that bourgeois democracy leads not to socialism but to fascism (formerly these socialist leaders denied this). *El Socialista,* the central organ of the Social-Democratic Party, and other party organs, as distinct from the press of the social-democratic parties in other countries, do not, as a general rule, attack the U.S.S.R., but praise the successes of socialist construction and the Soviet policy of peace. They write that the U.S.S.R. is the only country where there is no crisis, where there is no fascist danger, and where the conditions of the toiling masses are constantly improving. Certain leaders of the Socialist Party go even further in the statements they make. For instance, the social-democratic deputy from the Province of Badajos, M. Nelquen, states:

> "At the present moment there is only one dilemma—Rome or Moscow. The Spanish proletariat have already chosen their road and no one will keep them back. . . . We are told that we should take thought on what has happened in Austria. To this I reply—think of what has happened in Russia."

What must we think of these and similar statements which we can hear almost every day in the speeches of various leaders of the Social-Democratic Party? Of course, we are quite just in not believing the statements made by the leader of social-democracy, Largo Caballero. For although he, and after him his supporters, calls himself the "Spanish Lenin", we none the less know, unfortunately, that he was a state counsellor of Primo de Rivera. As we know, Lenin was a member neither of the counter-revolutionary Stolypin government nor of the Kerensky government. It is clear that the Bolsheviks do not easily forget such things. Nevertheless, this is not the question just now. The question is that to speak of the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the necessity for "seizing power by revolutionary methods", as Largo Caballero does, puts some kind of obligation on these people if they want to be taken seriously. How can they speak of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the violent overthrow of the power of the exploiters, and at the same time belong to one and the same party as they do, and form a bloc with the people of the Besteiro, de Los Rios type, etc., who are now openly advocating collaboration with the bourgeoisie and opposing revolutionary

methods of struggle? Even the leaders of the French socialists, who do not recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat and who repudiate violent revolution, and who until very recently carried on a slanderous struggle against the U.S.S.R. in their press, even these socialists have thrown from their midst the neo-socialists (Harquet, Deat, etc.) who correspond to the Spanish Besteiros. And how can we reconcile the statement about the necessity for a struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, etc., with the systematic refusal of the social-democratic leaders to enter into business-like contact with the Communist Party in the interest of the common struggle against fascism, the capitalists and the landlords, and for the victory of the workers' and peasants' revolution? In other words, how are we to understand the fact that Largo Caballero has declared himself in favor of the dictatorship of the proletariat, yet nevertheless thinks it possible to form a bloc with the open enemies of the revolution and does not think it necessary to join in a united front with the only consistently revolutionary party, the Communist Party?

And have we not the right to ask those who correctly put the only possible choice, "Rome or Moscow?", and who categorically declare themselves in favor of Moscow—those who state that they do not want a defeat of the Austrian type but are striving towards a victory after the fashion of the October Revolution—have we not the right to ask them: And what next? From your own statements, if you have made them seriously, if you have not been using empty words, some conclusions need to be drawn. You say that bourgeois democracy leads "to Rome" *i.e.*, to fascism. That is correct. You say that the Spanish proletariat must not repeat the fatal mistakes which led the Austrian working class through systematic concessions and the capitulation of the social-democrats to fascism, to a temporary defeat. You say that together with the working class, you have chosen the path of October. But who led the proletariat to victory in the great October Revolution? Who is it that stood and still stands consistently for the path of the revolutionary class struggle, for the path of the dictatorship of the proletariat? Who did so right through all the years after the October uprising in the struggle against the policy of class collaboration pursued by the Second International, and against the policy of "the peaceful development of democracy to socialism"? As is well known, only the Bolsheviks, only the Third, Communist, International. But if such is the case, and if you are really in favor of the dictatorship of the proletariat, *i. e.*, if you have really taken the path which the Bolsheviks and the Communist International have taken, and if you really condemn class collaboration (without which there is no reason for the existence of the Second International), then what conclusions do you draw therefrom?

It is quite clear to us that there are extremely big differences of principle between us Communists and the leaders of the S.-D. Party of Spain, even though they recognize in words the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the existence of these big differences of principle cannot serve as a hindrance to the establishment of a united front of struggle against fascism. If all that the socialist leaders are now talking about is not simply intended to give an outlet to the dissatisfaction of the masses, then we do not understand why they do not think it necessary to have business-like contacts with the only international proletarian organization which really and in practice stands and has always stood for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the violent overthrow of the power of the exploiters.

As we have stated above, the mere verbal recognition of the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat and even the mere readiness to make technical preparations for an uprising are not sufficient to ensure the victory of the revolution. But for the time being the social-democratic leaders will not go further than this. We must, therefore, plainly and clearly warn the working class that the entire line being followed by the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party is directed not towards the victorious uprising of the masses, not towards the Marxist-Leninist preparations for revolution. Their entire line is absolutely the reverse of the whole experience of the October Revolution, to which the social-democratic leaders are so fond of referring. Although these leaders sometimes criticize the capitulation of the Austrian social-democratic leaders, in reality the path being trod by Spanish social-democracy differs but slightly from that trod by Austrian social-democracy.

The social-democrats often accuse the Communists of insulting them. But, when we assert that Spanish social-democracy is leading the working class along the Austrian path, we do not, of course, say this to insult anyone but in order to clear up questions and to help the Spanish workers to avoid the fate which befell the Austrian and German workers.

On the other hand, how is it possible to speak seriously of the preparations for the struggle for power and at the same time do as Largo Caballero does and give up the struggle for the direct demands of the toiling masses, under the pretense that strikes at the present time merely waste the energy of the working class? It is precisely in order to lead the masses up to the victorious insurrection, that it is necessary in every way to develop all forms of day-to-day struggles—economic and

political, meetings, demonstrations, strikes, etc., to the point of the general political strike, as one of the most important approaches to insurrection. It is essential constantly and untiringly to rouse the energy of the masses so as to pass to wide and decisive revolutionary actions, thus compelling the enemy to be constantly on the qui vive and to spread his forces, giving him no rest, and depriving him of the possibility of developing civil war against the workers and peasants. At the very height of the revolutionary upsurge, in all a few weeks before the October rising, Lenin, who had in view this very perspective of the armed rising, was very forceful in raising the question of the necessity for carrying on a struggle for partial demands as a component part of the all-round preparations for this struggle for power. What is the concrete situation in this regard in Spain? The capitalists, the landlords and all the forces of counter-revolutionary fascist reaction are day in and day out carrying on a fierce offensive against the toiling masses. At one point they want to cut wages, at another they try to bring fascist strike breakers into the factories, to split the workers, and try to throw the revolutionary and class-conscious elements out of the factories. They try to put into operation the law regarding capital punishment, which in essence is directed against the revolutionary workers and peasants. They suppress trade unions, confiscate the workers' press and raise the price of bread and of all necessities of life. The fascists organize attacks on the premises belonging to working class organizations, and on working class meetings, etc. To fail to carry on a struggle against all this, and for the improvement of the material conditions of the toiling masses, means systematically to surrender working class positions, to retreat before the enemy. This is the Austrian path of constant capitulation to the bourgeoisie, although covered up by phrases about the necessity of "saving energy for the decisive struggle". This is a weakening of the revolutionary front. Victories are quite possible in partial battles, defensive and offensive. This can be proved, if only by the fact of the successful struggle of the Spanish proletariat against the fascist rally on April 22, 1932; or by the fact that tens of thousands of workers were able to win the 44-hour week and to maintain their former wages (*i.e.*, wages for the 48-hour week) as the result of the strike. Such victories raise the spirits of the working class, strengthen their confidence in their own powers, and consolidate their class positions. They make it easier for the proletariat to draw the wavering strata of the petty bourgeoisie to its side, and thus provide much better chances for the decisive struggle. This is why it is necessary to combine the adoption of a decisive line for the preparation of the masses, organizationally and politically, for the violent overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie, with the struggle for the direct demands of the toiling masses. And is it not strange that when Largo Caballero was Minister of Labor, he fought, along with other leaders of the Social-Democratic Party, against strikes, against the seizure of the land by the peasants, against workers' and peasants' demonstrations, under the pretext that they only prevented the republic (the bourgeois-landlord republic) from approaching socialism—and now this same person, Largo Caballero, who claims to be a supporter of violent insurrection, again takes up a sharp line against strikes, and in general against any actions in favor of partial demands? The refusal to struggle for partial demands is a covering for capitulation to the bourgeoisie and landlords, to fascism, to the class enemy —it is reformism inside out, decorated with "Left", "revolutionary" phrases.

But it is clear, and it is hardly to be specially stressed, that while determinedly insisting on the necessity for struggling for partial demands and not allowing these struggles to be formally contrasted to the struggle for power, we are nevertheless against exhausting the forces of the proletariat by small strikes. We are in favor of economic and political strikes when these strikes take place in suitable situation, but we are against playing at strikes. We are in favor of the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie, but we are against anarchist putsches. Lenin headed the Bolshevik Party in leading the working class decisively to the October Revolution, but in July 1917 Lenin was against armed action when the time for this was not yet suitable.

If the question of power is raised seriously, it is impossible at the same time to avoid raising in its full scope the question of the organization and unification of the forces of the working class and of all the toilers. We cannot avoid raising the question of the unity of the trade union movement, the question of setting up bodies which could unite the organized and unorganized workers and the peasants for the struggle, *i. e.*, the question of factory committees and peasant committees. Once the line is taken of preparing the masses for the struggle for power, we cannot avoid raising the question of setting up bodies which are capable of fulfilling this task; we cannot avoid raising the question of Soviets.

A number of social-democratic leaders, and Largo Caballero above all, have expressed themselves definitely against factory committees, peasant committees and Soviets. Usually they put forward the following type of arguments against the Soviets: "To launch the slogan of Soviets at the present

time means to hinder the progress of the revolution, even if we admit that it will be possible to establish them in Spain at all, which we deny. . . . The Soviets have no traditions in Spain. . . . In Russia, the illegal conditions in which the Bolshevik Party and the working class movement existed did not allow of any considerable development of the trade unions, and therefore the Bolsheviks had to establish Soviets as mass organizations in place of trade unions. Lenin himself did not advance the slogan of the formation of Soviets, but only issued the slogan that the Bolsheviks must win the majority in them, because the Soviets arose spontaneously".

It is not difficult to prove that all these arguments, if they may be dignified with such a name, are beneath all criticism. The Soviets are not something specifically Russian. In addition to the U.S.S.R., Soviets exist in the enormous territories of Soviet China, where 60,000,000 workers and peasants have won power with the aid of the Soviets and in the form of Soviets, under the leadership of their Communist Party. After the war, in all the European capitalist countries where a revolution took place, in Germany, Hungary, Austria, Poland, etc., Soviets were formed but were afterwards destroyed by the bourgeoisie with the direct assistance of social-democracy. If Soviets have not as yet been formed in Spain, it is not because the Spanish workers and peasants do not need or understand their significance, but mainly owing to the resistance to them put up by social-democracy and the anarchists who for the time being have the leadership of the majority of the toilers in Spain. If the Social-Democratic Party and its leaders wanted to start immediately, along with the Communists, to form factory committees and Soviets, it is very likely that they would be formed throughout the country in a very short time.

But the statement that there was no powerful trade union movement in Russia before the October Revolution is incorrect. It is true that in tsarist days the trade unions were not very large in numbers, but they grew at a tremendous speed in the period between February and October, and had over two million members, *i. e.*, the majority of the industrial proletariat, before the October insurrection. But it is not a question of figures. Trade unions have quite other tasks than Soviets have. Under capitalism the trade unions are bodies to defend the economic interests of the working class, and if Communists are at the head of them, they can be a school of revolutionary struggle for the broadest masses of the proletariat. The Soviets, on the other hand, are bodies for the struggle for power, but after the victorious insurrection, they are the organs of the new revolutionary power. The trade unions have only workers in their ranks. Before the seizure of power by the proletariat they have in reality only a section of the workers in their ranks. But the Soviets unite the workers, organized and unorganized, and also the peasants. Thus, the Soviets are mass organs in which the alliance of the workers and the peasants is brought about.

And what can be said of the statement to the effect that the Soviets arose in Russia spontaneously? In reality, in 1905 the Soviets sprang up spontaneously out of the revolutionary movement and particularly out of the strike movement of the proletariat. There are spontaneous strikes, spontaneous demonstrations, and sometimes the most varied forms of organizations spring up spontaneously. But after the revolutionary creative power of the masses established this organizational form, the best adapted form for the struggle for power, for bringing about the dictatorship of the proletariat, it was precisely the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, who, on the eve of the 1917 revolution, stood for the formation of Soviets, and really set them up in the revolutionary period of 1917. Thus in Spain as well we must not bow down to spontaneity and neglect to set up the most suitable organizations for the struggle. It is possible that if the Spanish social-democrats had not resisted the formation of Soviets, they would have sprung up "spontaneously" in Spain as well.

From all that has been said, the conclusion to be drawn is that anyone who makes wordy declarations of the necessity for the revolutionary seizure of power, actually dooms the uprising to destruction and adopts the Austrian and not the October path.

One cannot speak seriously of the dictatorship of the proletariat and do as L. Caballero did, namely, abandon the struggle for the peasantry, the struggle for attracting the broadest many-millioned masses of the peasants to the revolution. We cannot fail to organize the seizure of land, cattle and property and we cannot fail to organize peasant committees. To fail to do all this means that talk about the dictatorship of the proletariat is phrasemongering. To fail to do this means in practice to repudiate the victory of the revolution. But the question of the land, the question of the peasants as the most important ally of the proletariat in the struggle against the capitalists and landlords, are closely interwoven with another question of the revolution, namely, the struggle for the army. It is impossible to carry out a victorious revolution without the army. This has been shown by the experience of all revolutions. As we know, in 1917 the Russian Bolsheviks put forward, among their other slogans, the slogan of peace so as to win the army, and it spread like wildfire among the masses of the soldiers. There is no war at present in Spain, but the soldiers must be won over to the side of the revolution. The

majority of the soldiers are peasants who are thirsting for the land, whose families are starving owing to chronic unemployment, who are beaten up and killed by the fascist-hired assassins, the Civil Guards. This is why the question of the agrarian revolution is of decisive importance for the outcome of the Spanish Revolution. To fail to carry on an organized struggle for the revolutionary seizure of the land, to neglect to draw the broad masses of the peasants into this struggle before the general uprising takes place, means at best to undertake a rising which is bound to be defeated. But the path of October, the path of victory, is quite a different one. The experience of the victorious October revolution showed that even before the October rising, the masses of the peasants under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party proceeded to seize the land in revolutionary fashion on tremendous territories and thus helped the proletariat to shake the power of the bourgeoisie. It was the October Revolution in particular which proved that the proletariat can take the power and maintain it, if it is able to break away the middle classes and, above all, the peasants from the capitalist class. One of the fundamental causes of the victory of the October Revolution was the correct policy of the Bolsheviks on the present question.

In preparing for the struggle for power, the proletariat is faced exceptionally forcibly with the question of the oppressed nationalities and the task of winning over the urban petty bourgeoisie. The powerful national liberation movement which is taking place at the present time in Catalonia and Biscay is a powerful lever which, in the hands of the proletariat, must serve as a weapon for shattering the entire edifice of the State of the Spanish imperialists. The proletariat and its revolutionary Party must at the same time be able to win over to their side the petty-bourgeois elements of the towns, even if they do not recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat, but really want to fight against fascism and against a reduction of the standard of living.

One of the conditions of victory for the proletariat is the carrying out of genuine proletarian revolutionary discipline. Without such discipline victory is impossible. But Largo Caballero, who frequently regards himself as the benefactor of the Spanish workers, does not think in this way. He says that "the anarchist lack of discipline of the Spanish working masses hinders the advance of fascism". If that were the case, fascism would have been destroyed in Spain long ago. In reality the advance of fascism has been hindered up to the present time not by the anarchist lack of discipline of the working class but by its organized, disciplined mass actions, although it is clear that with more organization, with better discipline and under revolutionary leadership much more could have been achieved.

On the other hand, Largo Caballero states that in Germany fascism was able to come out victorious because the millions of members of the trade unions allegedly submitted to trade union discipline. Hence he draws the strange conclusion that discipline is an undesirable thing in general, so let us be undisciplined. Let us first note the fact that Largo Caballero recognizes that in Germany the submission of the millions of members of the trade unions to the discipline of the reformists, the social-democrats, brought the fascists to power. But this does not by any means imply that discipline is not needed at all. It simply means that reformist bourgeois discipline is not required. If Largo Caballero claims that the insufficiency of discipline of the Spanish working class, which is the result of its scattered character, is its virtue, there is nothing remarkable when he opposes factory committees and Soviets, and when he is not overjoyed at the idea of the unity of the trade union movement. It is precisely by the formation of these bodies that it is possible to liquidate "anarchist lack of discipline" and to replace it by organized genuine proletarian revolutionary discipline.

Finally, to ensure the victory of the revolution, to ensure that the uprising is victorious, it is essential that there be a revolutionary proletarian mass party. Is Spanish social-democracy such a party? Of course not. It is not only not a revolutionary party, but also not a workers' party. All its practical activity, both when it participated in the government and when it passed over to the "opposition", was based on collaboration with the bourgeoisie. It is true, and we do not doubt it, that many socialist workers who are in its ranks and who follow it want to fight and will fight with arms in their hands, as the Austrian workers fought and in the same way as the Communist workers of Spain will fight in the coming battles. But the heroism of part of the socialist workers is by itself insufficient for victory. What is wanted is a revolutionary proletarian *i.e.*, a Communist Party. And such a Party is not one which simply recognizes in words the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat or even the necessity for technical military preparations for the struggle to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie and the landlords. What is wanted is that this Party, the really revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat, be determined not in words but in deeds to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie and landlords in the armed struggle and to take power into its hands. It must be armed with the revolutionary tactics of the class struggle and must have a correct approach to the basic questions of the

revolution, to the peasant question, to the question of the allies of the proletariat, to the question of winning over the army, to the national question, to the formation of the organs of struggle for power, to the question of the struggle for direct demands. This Party must break with the conciliators, as the Russian Bolsheviks did, as the Communists have done in all countries, and as the Communist Party of Spain has done.

Only in this way and only on condition that there is a transition from words to deeds can the revolution in Spain be victorious.

THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN THE U.S.A. IN THE CONDITIONS OF THE "NEW DEAL" OF TRUSTIFIED CAPITAL

By KUTNIK

SINCE about the middle of 1933, the organizational condition of the revolutionary T.U. movement in the U.S.A. has greatly changed. In March, 1933, the membership of the Red trade unions was 25,000; in one year it had grown to about 100,000 to 125,000 members. This is a large increase in the membership of the revolutionary trade union center.

What has given rise to this big growth in the membership? Is it a result of overcoming the shortcomings from which the revolutionary T.U. movement in the U.S.A. has suffered chronically? Is it the result of a change in its oppositional work? To what extent does this growth decide the question of the transformation of the Red trade unions into real mass organizations leading the class struggle? These are questions which naturally arise in connection with this.

In order to reply to these questions, we must first of all examine the conditions in which the revolutionary T.U. movement of the U.S.A. has had to work and struggle during this period.

What new features are there in these conditions?

1. During this period Roosevelt proceeded to operate the "New Deal" which is fundamentally a program of broad capitalist offensive, directed towards strengthening the role of the financial oligarchy, the consolidation of the power of the trusts, the plundering of the masses behind a smoke screen of social demagogy, the disarming of the working class and the disorganization of its ranks. For this purpose the bourgeoisie in the U.S.A. saw the possibilities of using the American Federation of Labor and the company unions, taking out of the hands of the proletariat its basic weapon of struggle—namely, the strike weapon—and crushing the organizers of this struggle, the militant unions.

2. During this period a broad strike movement developed in the U.S.A., affecting over one and a half million workers employed in almost every branch of industry. At first this unparalleled strike movement was objectively stimulated and let loose by the illusions which were sown by the N.R.A. among the broad strata of the workers. These workers imagined that Roosevelt was on their side, and that they needed to help him; they thought they could use strikes to compel the capitalist companies to carry out Roosevelt's measures. Therefore the first strike wave (July-November, 1933), which embraced 942,810 workers and took place in its earlier stages mainly under the slogan of "compelling the employers to recognize N.R.A. and of using it as a basis to establish codes for various industries".

The second strike wave, which began approximately in March, 1934, and has continued up to now, has affected (until August 15) 880,000 workers. In the last two months (July-August) 386,000 workers have struck. It is mainly the result of the disillusionment of the masses in the "New Deal", the result of their gradual appreciation of the real anti-working class essence of the whole of this new, complicated, artfully concealed system of laws and government actions, and of the treacherous role of the faithful helpers of the government—the A.F. of L. leaders. For this reason the strikes that have recently taken place are against the lowering of the standard of living, for its improvement and for the fulfillment of the promises made in the "New Deal"; they are directed against the N.R.A., against the company unions which are intensively being forced on them with the open support of the government, and for the recognition of their own organizations. And, it is very important to note, an increasing number are sympathy strikes in other industries, demand for general strikes, etc. These strikes are taking place against the will and intentions of the top leadership of the American Federation of Labor, and are of an exceptionally militant character; they are distinguished by the intensity of the struggle, by their repetition (Alabama, Minneapolis); they are accompanied by ever more frequent bloody conflicts

with the armed forces of the State apparatus and the companies (Toledo, San Francisco and a number of other cities) and are ever more clearly assuming the character of political actions.

3. Since the introduction of the N.R.A. there has been a tremendous urge towards organization on the part of broad strata of the working class, and masses of them have joined the unions. During this year the number of organized workers has increased by over 1,500,000. But the company unions, which in essence are organizations belonging to the employers, and have compulsory membership, have increased from 1,200,000 to 5,000,000 members. They thus assume a very great importance. The Government and the employers have especially in the recent period given preference to these organizations even over the A.F. of L., the leaders of which are less and less able to keep the workers back from the struggle or even to keep their own local organizations under control.

There has been a sharp growth in a new type of union, the militant independent unions, which have about 300,000 members. These unions have been joined by workers who are disillusioned by the policy and tactics of the leaders of the A.F. of L., mainly unorganized. In the big majority of cases, the independent unions are militant organizations led by new cadres; they are mass organizations, and, on the whole, their line is a militant one, with an elementary class struggle policy.

It must be stated that even in the American Federation of Labor itself there have been big changes both in respect to composition and partly in respect to structure. Over half of the new members of the A.F. of L. are organized in Federal locals, which differ considerably from the craft locals of the A.F. of L. unions. On the whole these Federal locals are organizations which carry on the struggle. The majority of the strikes attributed to the A.F. of L. have been conducted by them. The Federal locals are organized on a factory basis, which is in direct contradiction to the structure, to the craft principles of structure of the A.F. of L. This alone provides great possibilities for opposing the offensive of the bourgeoisie and for developing a counter-attack by the workers.

The great increase in this form of A.F. of L. union is of tremendous interest and therefore must be dealt with in greater detail.

When the A.F. of L., on the basis of the N.R.A., began to organize the workers in the basic branches of industry, it plainly saw that the latter understood that they would not be able to carry on a successful struggle against the employers in trustified industry if they were scattered in scores of craft organizations in every factory. The A.F. of L. leaders were faced with the alternative of either losing these workers entirely because they would refuse to join a craft union or of making a temporary concession and organizing the workers in Federal locals on an industrial basis, which would include all the workers employed in the given factory and would be directly subordinated to the Executive Council of the A.F. of L., thus ruling out any intermediate links.

In an article in *Today*, the semi-official organ of the Roosevelt administration, J. J. Leary, official leader of the A. F. of L. Press Bureau, stated that the A.F. of L. intends to split these organizations later, when the militancy of the workers cools down, and convert them into ordinary unions.

But the workers take a different attitude to this. Green's representatives, who came to the Federal locals of aircraft workers in Buffalo with a proposal to split the organization into craft unions, were chased out by the workers. In Hartford the Federal local of aircraft workers preferred to become an independent union rather than be split into craft unions. The Federal local at the Ford plant in Chester, Pa., preferred to send its charter back, rather than be split into craft unions.

Since June, 1933, over 1,368 Federal locals have been formed. Several hundreds have been formed during the last six months. These official organizations embrace about 600,000 workers. They have mainly been formed in industries of mass production which were hitherto not covered by the A.F. of L., namely, automobile production, rubber, aluminum, glass, food (big biscuit factories, etc.), metal stamping factories, the manufacture of electric apparatus, shipbuilding, aeroplane building, agricultural, chemical plants, gasoline stations, distilleries, the unemployed engaged on public works, match factories, etc. Our unions have never penetrated into the majority of these industries.

The Federal locals of the A. F. of L. with their new militant elements, and in many cases with militant local leaders, will undoubtedly play a big role at the forthcoming convention of the A.F. of L. at San Francisco. John L. Lewis, the reactionary leader of the United Mine Workers' Unions, who has long been challenging Green for the position of leader of the A.F. of L., is trying to rally these Federal locals around himself in his struggle against Green.

And even the old members of the A.F. of L. are becoming noticeably radicalized, as shown in the fights and bloody clashes with police which have taken place among such elements as truck drivers, street-car workers, longshoremen, etc. All this without question reflects the turn of the masses to the Left, the growth of militant sentiment among them, and the growth of their determination to fight.

4. Finally, one other new and most important phenomenon must be noted, namely, the change in

the tactics of of the A.F. of L. leaders, not only in the sense that they have made a few concessions, in respect to the structure of the unions, but also in respect to strike tactics. This is shown in the fact that the A.F. of L. leaders are now more frequently leading strikes so that in the course of the struggle they can hand these conflicts over to arbitration, or behead the movement. They are now compelled to maneuver more cunningly than was the case a short time ago. An example is Green's threat at the Executive Council meeting in Atlantic City in August, that if the capitalists confess their inability to provide for the unemployed "the public would take over industry".

We must take note of the following tendencies within the A.F. of L.:

There is a tendency toward industrial unionism on a national scale, due to pressure of the rank and file. A new industrial union on a national scale, the Federation of Flat Glass Workers, with 15,000 members, has been formed out of a group of Federal locals which existed in the big glass factories. There is also a fight going on by the Brewery Workers Union for the right to be an industrial union, taking in all the workers in the breweries, including even the truck drivers, while Green wants to split the brewery workers up into the various crafts, such as machinists, boilermakers, drivers, etc. This large union threatens to leave the A.F. of L. if it is not allowed to be an industrial union. Lewis of the United Mine Workers and others who are anxious to win control of the A.F. of L. from Green are utilizing this, posing as the champions of industrial unions.

There is an attempt by the top leaders of the A.F. of L. to crush Federal locals' militancy by setting up National Councils—this was done in auto and aluminum. Green appoints the chairman of the Council and the Council meets only when this representative of Green calls them to meet. The Council is given only advisory power, while Green's agent has the power of decisions. There is a great dissatisfaction with this among the rank and file of the Federal locals, and a great sentiment for a national industrial union, especially in auto. A company union agent named Greer was able to utilize this discontent and took the biggest auto Federal local (Hudson local with 7,000 members in Detroit) out of the A.F. of L. and towards company unionism. He also took out the Olds local in Lansing, Mich.

In textile, there is the demand of the rank and file in the various sections of the industry for autonomous federations, on an industrial basis, within the United Textile Workers Union. The silk workers have such a federation, and also the hosiery workers. Recently, the rayon workers set up a Rayon Council and are for a federation; there is also a strong movement for an autonomous Wool and Worsted Workers Federation within the United Textile Workers Union.

These are the circumstances in which the revolutionary T.U. movement of the U.S.A. has operated and struggled during the past year. In these conditions the Red unions have also greatly increased their membership. But in order to get a clear picture of their development, they must be examined in each industry, and we must first of all clear up the question as to how this growth has taken place in the basic branches of industry, because this point is decisive from the point of view of whether the Red unions are becoming a serious factor in the mass movement.

The growth of our unions which has been taking place recently differs somewhat from their growth in the past, before the introduction of the N.R.A. Formerly they extended their basis almost entirely in the light industries, but now a certain change is to be noted among them in the direction of the basic branches. Our unions have noticeably grown in the steel and metal industries and in marine transport, while in the agricultural fields the Red T.U. organizations have become a very weighty factor. In November of last year the revolutionary steel and metal workers' union increased to 13,000, the marine workers' union to 3,000, the agricultural workers to 20,000. This shows that the Party and the T.U.U.L. have already begun to base their activities on the basic industries, although even here the stress has been put chiefly on the line of least resistance. Thus in the steel industry, the Red union concentrated its forces mainly on the smaller mills, and not on the decisive factories, and the same is the case in the automobile and a number of other industries. Basically the increase of nearly 100,000 members during the N.R.A. period was in the light branches of industry, in a number of secondary industries—food, furniture, needle, etc., in which the revolutionary unions have obtained a more or less strong position. In the first strike wave (June-November, 1933) the revolutionary unions directly led 24 per cent of the strikes. In addition, a number of the militant actions of workers belonging to other organizations were inspired by our propaganda and agitational work. We can establish a certain connection between the growth of the Red unions and the degree to which the whole of the revolutionary T.U. movement participated and was active in the struggles. In the steel and metal industry the Red union carried on 30 per cent of all strikes in the first strike wave, and its membership increased to 13,000. Among the marine workers the revolutionary union led 24 per cent of all strikes and increased to 3,000 members. Among the farm laborers, our union led 99 per cent of all strikes and increased

to 20,000 members. Among the furniture workers a revolutionary union was formed with 7,000 members, which led 70 per cent of the strikes. Our union also grew very considerably among the food workers and led 29 per cent of the strikes. Among the textile workers the revolutionary union led 11 per cent of the strikes during the first strike wave and obtained a slight increase in its membership. It is true that it had some influence in the strikes led by other unions. In the first period of the strike movement, the membership of our unions in the mining and automobile industries fell, and they led only 3 per cent of the strikes.

In spite of the big role played by the revolutionary T.U. movement in the strike struggles of this period, the revolutionary T.U. organizations did not consolidate their growing influence and did not continue a stubborn and systematic struggle to win the masses even in those branches of industry where they led the strikes. On the other hand, the A.F. of L., under the influence of the rising militant moods of the masses, changed its tactics of open sabotage and disruption of strikes and resorted to N.R.A. arbitration instead. In a number of industries, the local unions belonging to the A.F. of L. undertook the leadership of the growing mass movement, declared and conducted strikes, and formed new organizations. Thus, in March, 1934, when a new strike wave took place, after a period of lessened strikes, it was found that the T.U.U.L. organizations were pushed into the background by the unions belonging to the A.F. of L., and especially by the new unions with their basis in the factories, the Federal locals of the A.F. of L.

The position is confirmed by some figures characterizing the role of various revolutionary unions in the leadership of the strike struggles during the second period of the upsurge of the strike movement, in March-June, 1934. Thus the Red textile union did not participate in the leadership of the numerous strikes of this period which affected 42,625 workers. The backwardness of the union in this branch of industry led to a considerable reduction in the membership of the revolutionary union. At the present time it has 1,000 to 1,200 members.

Among the miners, the revolutionary union led only 1 per cent of the strikes. The total number of strikers fell from 160,000 in the first period of strikes to 88,000 in the second strike period, but in both waves the insignificant number of workers striking under revolutionary leadership proves without a doubt that the revolutionary union greatly lagged behind the growing activity of the masses of miners. In the same way, the revolutionary union only succeeded in winning the leadership of 2 per cent of the strikes in the automobile industry, although the total number of strikers grew from 29,000 in the first strike wave to 44,000 in the second. The revolutionary miners' union has only 1,000 members now, and the revolutionary automobile workers' union only a few hundred members.

Matters were much better among the marine workers. During the first strike wave the revolutionary union led 24 per cent of all the marine workers' strikes, while during the second period the proportion of strikes under revolutionary leadership dropped to 17 per cent. But it must be borne in mind that the total number of marine workers on strike grew from 11,000 during the period of the first strike wave to 46,000 during the second. Thus, although the total number of the marine workers striking under revolutionary leadership increased, the relative role of the revolutionary union in leading strikes of marine workers declined. But as a result of the correct application of the tactics of the united front, the activity of the union and its influence have again considerably grown during recent months, as is witnessed by the Pacific Coast strike. The union organized solidarity strikes with the striking longshoremen on over 40 ships. The scope of the solidarity strikes tremendously strengthened the influence of the revolutionary union and also its role in the longshoremen's strike, which extended tremendously and was very intense, and which developed afterwards into a general strike. Among the agricultural workers the Red union led nearly all the strikes, although the total number of strikers dropped from 64,000 to 6,000. (Here too, recently, the A.F. of L. has come in and begun to be a factor which must be taken into account.)

If we compare the state of our unions before the introduction of the N.R.A. and now, we get the following picture: Before the N.R.A., last summer, the miners' union had 3,500 members, but now only 1,000. The steel workers' union formerly had 1,000-1,500 members, and now it has 7,000. The textile workers' union last year had 900 members and now about 1,000 members. The marine workers' union had 1,500 members, and now about 3,000-3,500, the automobile workers' union had 3,000 before the introduction of the N.R.A., whereas now it has a few hundred members; the agricultural workers' union (mainly in California) previously had 1,200 members, but now it totals 20,000 members.

Thus we see that in the first strike wave the Trade Union Unity League played quite an imposing role, directly leading 24 per cent of all the strikes. *It was precisely in this period that it increased its membership,* but mostly in the light and secondary industries. It met with comparatively big successes among the marine workers; it had certain achievements among the steel and metal workers, but mainly in the less important factories, while there

were big results among the agricultural workers. In the second strike wave the T.U.U.L. had only 5 per cent of all the strikes under its *direct* leadership. There is organizational growth in some places (in light and the secondary industries) but in others it is becoming considerably worse, even in comparison with the period before the introduction of the N.R.A., as among the miners, the textile workers and especially among the automobile workers. And this has taken place in spite of the fact that this year (July, 1933-July, 1934), particularly its last period, was rich in objective possibilities for developing the struggle and for strengthening the revolutionary positions among practically all strata of the working class in the U.S.A.

How is such a situation to be explained? How are we to explain in particular the weakening of our influence in the strike movement, even in comparison with the first period. (A comparison with the preceding years, before the introduction of the N.R.A., gives considerably worse results. In 1931 the T.U.U.L. led two-thirds of the strikes, the A.F. of L. one-third; in 1932 the T.U.U.L. led one-third of the strikes, whilst the A. F. of L. led two-thirds.)

There is to be felt not only insufficient work to consolidate our influence after strikes ended, but also a number of other very important reasons. First and foremost it is a result of our previous underestimation of the importance of the new tactics of the A.F. of L. and its influence over the masses.

Whereas we formerly almost monopolized the development and leadership of strike struggles, whilst the A.F. of L. hardly troubled itself with strikes, later, especially beginning with the N.R.A., the latter changed its tactics in this respect and began to lead most of the struggles. Besides this, it must not be forgotten that the A.F. of L. has not only last year, but always, been the stronger and more powerful organization, possessing enormous possibilities. The American Federation of Labor was always in incomparably more favorable conditions and particularly is it so at the present time: the Government, the State apparatus, the employers give it preference when it is a question of choosing between the reformist and revolutionary trade unions. The companies avoid and in every way resist according recognition to the revolutionary trade unions as representatives of the workers and their agents for concluding collective agreements. More than this, together with the State apparatus, and fully supported by the central leadership of the A.F. of L., they hurl their whole complicated system of terror against the young, weak revolutionary trade union organizations that are not yet deeply enough rooted among the masses. It is worthwhile recalling the strike that took place last year in Ambridge and in the agricultural areas.

The enemy is clever and shows great flexibility in his policy of fooling the workers, and resorts to complicated and cunning maneuvers, at times very ably adapting himself to the changing situation and moods of the masses. Not only are the bourgeoisie alone, in the person of Roosevelt, capable of maneuvering. There is no need to prove that Green has not changed his outlook against the idea of undertaking a struggle against the bourgeoisie, and of conducting real strikes. This is shown by all his declarations and statements and finally, by his actions before and after the introduction of the N.R.A. policy.

But when the leadership of the A.F. of L. sensed the Leftward moving sentiments of the masses, and the readiness and determination of the latter to struggle, then, in order not to become isolated from them, since they could not so easily succeed in preventing strikes, they joined the struggle, in order, of course, in one way or another, to smash it (arbitration, secret arrangements behind the backs of the strikers).

When the N.R.A. was introduced, Green made his famous statement that "we cannot allow this great economic experiment to end in failure. We cannot allow it to be sabotaged. . . . I shudder at the thought of what awaits our country, if it does not succeed. The working class must do all in order to prevent its defeat. Every effort must be made to prevent strikes". (Retranslated—Ed.)

In view of the growth of the fighting sentiments of the masses and of the successful strike movement, in which the independent and Red unions began to play a leading role, Green declared that: "At the present moment serious labor conflicts threaten to paralyze the successes of recovery . . . for the workers' cup of bitterness is overflowing".

Formerly, the workers in the basic industries were nearly altogether unorganized. The percentage of workers organized was between 8 and 10 per cent. The A.F. of L. limited itself chiefly to such industries as building and printing, and united the highly skilled workers according to craft, walled off from all other categories by a barrier of high membership dues and admission fees, and by statutes which ensured the unlimited monopoly power of a handful of corrupt officials. They exploited and deepened the craft, patriotic and race prejudices of the upper strata of the workers who were satisfied with the conditions of "prosperity" and who only strove to consolidate their privileged position.

At present the crisis has to quite an extent washed away the economic basis of "prosperity" for the upper strata of the working class as well. The maneuvering possibilities for the bourgeoisie have become narrower. The A.F. of L. began to lead strikes, *e.g.*, in the first strike wave of 1933, it led 49 per

cent, and in the second wave—63 per cent* of all the strikers. The A.F. of L. penetrated into the important branches of industry (automobile, steel, metal, chemical, etc.), and began to organize the workers on a mass scale. During the last year, for example, it increased its membership by over 1,500,000, with a tendency for further growth. The United Mine Workers of America alone grew to 300,000 members, covering almost 85 per cent of the workers in this industry in the U.S.A. The composition of the A.F. of L. and its structure have changed to a great extent. About 800,000 of its new members in very important industries are united in the above-mentioned Federal locals, organized on a factory basis, and do not belong to craft unions, comprising in the main a militant force. And the old members of the A.F. of L. are also moving Leftwards. Not only the Federal locals, but the workers in many of the ordinary A.F. of L. unions have done good work in the strike struggles, especially the recent ones. The very fact that the independent unions have grown as organizations outside the A.F. of L., also indicates that these masses are growing more revolutionary (and also shows that we do not always find the road leading to them). But these independent unions have grown into a big force, with 300,000 members, and have thus become an important factor in the working class movement in the U.S.A. In the first strike wave they led 16 per cent of all the strikes, and in the second, 18 per cent. The company unions, which are a fascist form, which, as the bourgeoisie view them, should play the role of providing a mass basis in the process of fascization, have grown in the last year from 1,200,000 to 5,000,000 members in the decisive branches of industry. It is sufficient to state that 85 per cent of the workers in the steel industry and not less than 50 per cent of the workers on the railroads are compelled to belong to these company unions. The mass of the workers are against such unions. Proof of this is to be found in the large number of strikes, which are clearly directed against them. Forced into these organizations, the workers show great initiative in searching for and using various forms of struggle so as to set up their class organizations in place of them. Experience, especially recently, has given many interesting facts in this regard (the election of open militants in company unions in the steel mill in McKeesport, Pa., at the Shenango steel plant in Sharpeville, Ohio, etc.). The exceptionally mass character of these unions which are built on the factory basis and the militant moods of the workers, show the necessity of and the great possibilities for concentrating revolutionary forces and activity inside these organizations, in order to win over their members to the side of the class struggle.

The revolutionary organizations in the U.S.A. in their struggle to win over the workers have not only the A.F. of L. to deal with. Lately, in particular, great activity has been developed by the socialists and more so by the Musteites. Both the socialists and the Musteites are adepts in demagogy and do not hesitate to use "Left" gestures and maneuvers.

It would seem that such a situation makes it incumbent on the T.U.U.L. organizations to keep a vigilant watch on every step made by the reformist official, or every move made by him, and to literally follow at his heels, in order to frustrate every maneuver.

The opinion which had existed that the A.F. of L. is as dead as a door-nail, that it is losing its members, that it will not organize the unskilled workers, that it does not penetrate into the basic branches of industry, and that, therefore, there is no need to reckon with it has resulted in a great deal of harm. Such views were at one time expressed among the revolutionary miners' union leaders (at the time when the U.M.W.A. had organized 85 per cent of the entire mining industry), in the textile workers' union and even in the steel union.

An extremely harmful thing, which prevented the operation of vitally necessary oppositional work inside the A.F. of L. unions, though there were enormous possibilities for carrying it on, was the fact that oppositional work and work in the Red trade unions were often counterposed. There are still some people who do not understand that opposition work in the A.F. of L. and the building of the revolutionary unions are two sides of one and the same task, that opposition work helps the work of the Red trade unions, that properly organized revolutionary activity inside other organizations strengthens the positions of the Red unions. A firm advocate of these wrong and harmful views which led to underestimating and ignoring work in the A.F. of L. is Comrade Zack. Zack was isolated as a theoretician of this tendency, but in practice we sometimes see these tendencies still cropping up (S.M.W.I.U. in Weirton).

Opposition work in the A.F. of L. is also mainly limited to the secondary branches of industry. As before the N.R.A. it is chiefly concentrated among the building workers, and that among the less important categories such as the carpenters and painters. Certain successes have been won among the latter in Chicago in connection with the struggle conducted for the re-instatement of those expelled from the union. In a number of big towns many local sections of the building workers' union are under revolutionary influence. At present we are having certain successes in popularizing our Workers' Un-

* According to figures up to Aug. 15 the A.F. of L. has led 82 per cent of all strikes since March 1.

employment and Social Insurance Bill in the A.F. of L. (Three international unions have endorsed the Bill.) This Bill has the support of about 2,000 locals of the A.F. of L. and of several Central Labor Councils. But some indication of the beginning of good opposition work in auto was seen by the presence of opposition delegations at the Auto Workers Convention of A.F. of L. Federal locals recently held in Detroit. The position is much better in the independent unions (among the miners in the Southern Illinois trade unions, where we have won certain positions and posts in the unions, in the Mechanics' Educational Society in Detroit, metal in Philadelphia and Jamestown, among the textile workers, etc.). But, as a rule, opposition work is very weak or is almost altogether absent, and especially in the basic branches of industry.

Lately, some opposition work has been begun among the steel workers, but few opposition groups have been formed; the work in connection with the Amalgamated Association, affiliated to the A.F. of L., is confined mainly to agitation from without. The April 1 Conference of this Association adopted a militant platform. It was marked by the militancy of the rank and file who elected a committee of 10 to prepare a general strike. But the second conference, held on June 13, reduced all these decisions to nought. The committee was watered down with new elements true to the traditions of the A.F. of L. who took a decision not to start a strike, but to accept Roosevelt's proposals. Here the unsuccessful result of our efforts is to be explained by the fact that instead of systematic, stubborn work by organized groups inside the union, we developed our agitation only from the outside, and instead of everyday work, we had sporadic and campaign activity. By the way, the local functionaries, as may be seen from reports, did not later on understand the reason for their failure and did not draw the necessary lessons. Meanwhile, there is a tremendous urge towards unity and there is great sympathy among the members of the A.F. of L. organizations and still more among the members of the independent unions for militant methods of struggle and for a militant program of action.

The favorable soil which exists for opposition work, the enormous opportunities which exist in this field can be seen from the following cases. The local branches of the Amalgamated Association (A.F. of L. union) in the plants of the Republic Steel Corporation called a conference on a number of questions (wages, etc.) inviting all the Republic locals of our unions. The leaders of the Amalgamated Association forced our comrades to leave the meeting, but our program was raised and discussed there. Or take an example among the textile workers. The workers of the Pequot textile mill in Salem, Mass., declared a strike, and invited the organizer of our textile union to lead their struggle, at the same time removing the leader of the United Textile Workers' Union (A.F. of L.). Since then, an independent union has been organized which collaborates with us.

Is there any need after this to show that the weak state of opposition work has a bad effect on the role which we can and should play in the strike struggle? By failing to establish opposition groups we thereby fail to create the subjective factor which could prepare and bring about the independent leadership of the struggle.

The question of the tactic of the united front is badly understood. Cases of the correct application of this tactic were comparatively few, but have only recently increased (steel, furniture, San Francisco). For example, at the Bethlehem steel plant in Baltimore, our union came out jointly with the A.F. of L. local union against the company union, in support of our social insurance bill and against company spies. In this struggle the wives and children of the workers were drawn in, and literally ran the spies out of town. Joint conferences with the Amalgamated Association were held to prepare for strike action.

There are other examples of the good application of the tactics of the united front, in particular among the textile workers in the independent unions, in Paterson and Allentown during the strike of the silk workers in 1933, in the taxi drivers' strike in New York, among the marine workers in the above-mentioned big strike of the longshoremen on the Pacific Coast. But in Buffalo, our local of the steel workers' union for a time refused to organize the united front with the A.F. of L. local union because the latter is very small. Or as was the case even among the marine workers who stopped the longshoremen's strike in Norfolk and Portsmouth some days before the general marine strike on the Pacific Coast and on the Gulf of Mexico. There is no need to prove today that in present conditions, the united front tactics along with well developed oppositional work, are the deciding and most important links now in daily revolutionary activity. The correctness of this can be proved by the events which have taken place within recent days. We need but to compare our role among the steel workers with the important part we played in San Francisco, thanks to our work in the A.F. of L. and the correct application of the tactics of the united front.

The failure to carry out concentration tasks in the most important key points must be added to a number of reasons which explain our lagging behind in the strike struggle. Even when concentrating in the steel and automobile industries, we centered our work not on their big plants but on those less important

For example, in the automobile industry, instead of concentrating on the Ford and Briggs plants, we scattered our forces in the small plants. The same is true in the steel industry. The successes of the marine workers, especially their first successes, are partly due to the very fact that they concentrated on an important line, Munson, and therefore succeeded in organizing strikes on 40 of its ships, won the majority of these, and gained the recognition of their ship committees and partly increased wages.

Further, insufficient consolidation of gains after the first strike wave; our comrades in cases did not consolidate the successes achieved, were not able to establish shop committees and to build strong Party and trade union organizations in the factories. Instead of carrying on stubborn, systematic work in the plants decided on, we often hopped about from one factory to another. One of our best recent achievements has been carrying on the struggle for partial demands. If this had been true all these years, our position in strikes would be better and more successful. The marine workers were systematically concentrating their forces on the Munson line ships, they utilized various forms of struggle to achieve the satisfaction of the small demands made by the seamen (short strikes to improve the quality of food; living conditions, etc.). Various examples can be given of similar work carried on among the miners (concentration in opposition work in the Pittsburg Terminal Mines, the biggest mines in West Pennsylvania, where our comrades carried through a number of successful partial struggles). There are still many other shortcomings to be observed in the life of our trade unions. The leaders of various union bodies are often not elected, and often disappear from their posts without the knowledge of the members. The organizers in the trade unions, as a rule, are appointed from outside. The practice of transferring functionaries and leading officials takes place too often. When they are removed, even for inability to do their work, the workers are not informed of this. And these cases are not utilized to educate either those who have made mistakes, or the masses, who can and should learn from them to appreciate the true essence of our policy and tactics. We are weak in training new cadres, and utilize and promote them still more badly. The A.F. of L. especially recently has been promoting leaders from among the local cadres, trying, of course, to corrupt them later on. These local functionaries know the workers and the workers know them, they maintain daily contact with them even in their private life.

The weakness of our opposition work, insufficient understanding of the application of the united front tactic, failure to concentrate properly, sectarian narrowness (a clear example of this is that our automobile workers' union in Detroit refused to accept into its ranks tool and dye makers as a separate section, because it might seem like craft unionism if we granted them a separate section), lack of democracy in the life and activity of our organizations, are the decisive reasons for our backwardness, and in places even of our losing ground.

If the revolutionary trade union movement in the U.S.A. does not put an end to all these negative features in a very short time, if it does not do away with all the harmful theories and tendencies which hinder the completion of the turn vitally necessary in oppositional work, the powerful development of the mass movement which can now be seen in the U.S.A., may cast us still further away from the main channel of this movement.

If we are to increase our relative importance, to consolidate our position among the basic masses of the American proletariat, to become a serious factor in their economic and political struggle, the first necessity is for us to develop systematic revolutionary work in the mass organizations and first and foremost in the reformist trade unions from this point of view. It must be clearly and plainly said that at present opposition work is the central task.

The American comrades are faced with the following practical tasks:

While concentrating our oppositional work in the A.F. of L. and as the chief task in all basic industries, and forming groups *inside* these unions and in the factories, and fighting for every elective post there, special attention must be paid to the Federal locals because of the favorable groups which they represent for revolutionary work. In view of their militant membership and leadership, we should struggle to win over entire organizations to the policy of the militant class struggle, without withdrawing them from the A.F. of L., but keep them there in order to consolidate and extend our influence; for we must consider the processes which are taking place in the remaining sections of the A.F. of L., and the great role that can be played by individual locals which we win, particularly at the coming convention of the A.F. of L.

The tendency to speak of taking out certain Federal locals for independent federations, as expressed by some comrades, is incorrect, as it would mean taking the most militant elements out of the A.F. of L. and isolating them from the other Federal locals, among whom the more militant locals could become the leaders in struggle.

A struggle of the Federal locals must be organized against the attempts of the upper leadership of the A.F. of L. to split them up according to the craft principles, and also against attempts by officials like Lewis, who wish to utilize them in their internal fight against Green.

Bearing in mind that the vast majority of the membership of the independent unions are militant workers who have fighting leaders developed from the rank and file, work must be carried on among them in such a way as to win over whole organizations to amalgamation. Only proper and systematic revolutionary work in these unions can ensure real success in uniting them with the Red trade unions, both in separate industries and on an inter-union scale. The lesson which can be obtained from the first attempt at unity which took place among the shoe workers and the taxi workers in New York, is extremely instructive, and must be borne in mind in the future (the necessity for stubborn work in the organizations with which we intend to unite, and the preliminary creation of firm bases inside them). Joint action with them is a necessary prerequisite and a practical path for fulfilling the task of establishing an independent Federation of Labor.

While correctly directing the indignation of the workers and rallying them on the basis of the united front for the struggle against the formation of company unions, we must try to prevent their being established by explaining to the workers that we are against such employer-dominated organizations and that we are for the organization of fighting unions by the workers themselves on a factory basis. But we must begin revolutionary work in the company unions which have already been formed, and discard the slogan "Smash the Company Unions", a slogan which leads in practice to this work being neglected. We must also discard the incorrect slogan used in the *Daily Worker,* about boycotting the elections in these unions, because this only clears the way for our enemies. During these elections the workers should be urged to elect committees of well-known fighting elements, and to strive to convert these committees into factory committees.

A sharp struggle must be carried on against those tendencies to liquidate the T.U.U.L. unions, which arise from capitulatory ideas, and which imply surrender of the revolutionary positions which have been won. It should be understood that the consolidation of the Red trade unions is a necessary prerequisite for the solution of the historic task of establishing an independent Federation of Labor. In this connection, strong revolutionary unions must be the organizing and cohesive factor and the directing force.

The carrying out of the concentration program at the biggest and most important factories is a necessary condition for converting our unions into mass organizations. We must begin more energetically to organize shop committees, to be elected by all the workers and to fight for the recognition of these committees by the employers.

Our fractions in the T.U.U.L. unions must be strengthened, activized and converted at all costs into normally functioning bodies, which will provide a real Party leadership in the unions. The leadership of many of the unions and T.U.U.L. bodies must be consolidated on the basis of extending collective work and inner-trade union democracy, while new cadres must be trained for leading work and they must be boldly promoted.

Work should be immediately begun towards the aim of uniting the independent unions with the revolutionary trade union organizations in a number of industries, particularly in the food industry, in various branches of the metal and textile industries. Also preparations must be made for the formation of local independent trade union councils, consisting of delegates from the independent and revolutionary unions. This is a basic part of our work in uniting the independent and revolutionary unions in the independent Federation of Labor.

As never before, the basic lever and the chief backbone of all revolutionary work among the masses and the method of winning them over to the side of the revolutionary class struggle are now the tactics of the united front. It should run through the activity both of the revolutionary unions and of the opposition inside the other organizations. On this basis, a struggle can and must be developed against the Roosevelt program of hunger and poverty, for the workers' democratic rights, against the measures of the government and employers, directed towards worsening the conditions of the working class, and towards liquidating its social gains, especially against the recent legislation (*e.g.,* the Labor Disputes Act), which legalizes compulsory arbitration, and deprives the workers of their main weapon of defence and struggle, namely, the right to strike, against fascist terror and for the preservation of democratic rights for the workers.

* * *

The last Party Convention, the discussion which took place there, and its decisions, the activities of the Party and T.U.U.L. in the most recent events (San Francisco, etc.), show that they, in the present situation of the class struggles in the U.S.A., clearly understand the tasks which they are faced with at the present. In practice, the work of our organizations during the last few years has shown that even when the tasks were understood, they are not always fulfilled and the decisions which are adopted are frequently not carried into practice. If an end is put to this then the revolutionary trade union movement in the U.S.A. will be the organizer and leader of the masses in their great struggles which have developed and will grow more and more, and will be a powerful support for the Party in its struggle to win the majority of the American working class.

THE GROWTH OF TERROR AGAINST THE RISING STRIKE WAVE IN THE U. S. A.

By B. SHERMAN

A LITTLE over a year has passed since the inauguration of the N.R.A., which was hailed as a new Bill of Rights for Labor, and the wave of strike struggles sweeping the United States is continually rising and developing to new heights of intensity. The Roosevelt Government, which was so lavish in its demagogy and promises to the workers, is more and more revealing itself as the instrument of finance capital in carrying through the offensive against the working class for the purpose of shifting the burdens of the crisis to the shoulders of the toiling masses. Already in July, 1933, the Central Committee of the C.P. of the U.S.A., in analyzing the New Deal, pointed out the tendencies for the development towards fascism, not the least of which was the attempt to outlaw strikes by compulsory arbitration. The failure of the arbitration boards and legislation to stem the tide of struggle has called forth the use of the most violent measures for the suppression of the workers' struggles. There is today hardly a single strike, no matter how small, or unemployed demonstration that is not met by the mobilization of the police, who use tear gas bombs and guns, and the increasing use of the National Guard with full war equipment. The toll of dead and injured in these numerous pitched battles (Alabama, Toledo, Minneapolis, Wisconsin, Pacific Coast, etc.), between the workers and the armed forces of the employers and the State is constantly mounting, and the scene of these struggles often resembles the front lines of a war area, with the erection of barricades, mounting of machine guns, troops patrolling with fixed bayonets, etc. In addition, we are now witnessing a more or less intense drive particularly in the South and on the Pacific Coast, against the Communist Party. This raises as an important problem for the Party the question of organizing a struggle against the terror, and other tasks relative to the growth of fascist tendencies in the United States.

A whole series of developments point to the increasing use of fascist methods against the working class and especially the revolutionary organizations. Fascist organizations, which are estimated to number over a hundred, have sprung up all over the United States, some of them organizationally and ideologically connected with the Nazis and with the Italian fascist movement, others of a specifically "American" character such as the Ku Klux Klan and the Vigilantes. Big business interests in the U.S.A. have been revealed as having financial connections with some of these organizations. The hand of the Roosevelt Administration in the fascization process can be seen in the bill passed by Congress and signed by the President handing over 75,000 rifles to patriotic organizations such as the American Legion, which have always stood in the forefront of crusades against the Communist Party, and for the purpose of breaking strikes. The Federal police forces are now being strengthened, and new appropriations have recently been made by Congress under the guise of fighting the "crime wave". The local police in all industrial centers are being provided with riot guns, tear gas, armored cars, and are trained in riot duty.

Only recently the "liberal" demagogue, Mayor LaGuardia of New York city, faced with a rising tide of struggles for unemployment relief, launched a campaign of police terror against the unemployed and attempted to prohibit meetings from being held in Union Square, the traditional site of working class demonstrations in New York. The police were given orders to shoot into these demonstrations, and were threatened with dismissal for showing any leniency. A special "police rifle regiment" of 1,200 is being trained for "riot duty" against the workers, and Mayor LaGuardia recently attempted to introduce a system of registering all trade union officials with the police; it was only after a storm of protest arose that he was forced to abandon this reactionary scheme. The capitalist press began to whip up an anti-Red hysteria with provocative articles against "alien agitators". The magazine *Today* (May 26 issue), edited by Raymond Moley, chief of Roosevelt's "brain trust", carried an extremely provocative leading article by the socialist, McAllister Coleman, called "Communist Strikes", attempting to show that it is the Communists who provoke violence and they must be dealt with accordingly. Moley, in a signed editorial in the same issue, writes: "Communism in the body politic grows in much the manner of an infection in the human system. In each case there is a germ, and it is well to attack it directly." Using demagogy to cover up his real meaning, Moley advises that fascist tendencies should be covered up more skilfully. He says:

> "Avoid not only injustice, but the appearance of injustice. Maintain the process of democracy in a healthy condition, no matter how much power

> the government assumes. Let every government official and every government agency learn to make clear to the public what he is doing and why he is doing it."

This advice to use phrases about "democracy" to cover up strike-breaking and the introduction of measures of fascization is being applied by the Roosevelt government in the present strike wave.

In the month of May the strikes of the Alabama miners, the Toledo auto-parts workers, the Pacific Coast maritime workers, and the Minneapolis truck drivers were met with the fiercest attacks by the police and the National Guard, and in Birmingham, Alabama, the authorities opened a drive against the Communists which culminated in many arrests of Negro and white workers, and raids on the headquarters of the International Labor Defense which were wrecked. Even the noted playwright, John Howard Lawson, was arrested because he went to Birmingham to investigate and write an account of the terror.

The mass resentment against this wave of terror forced Congressman Ernest Lundeen, Farmer-Laborite of Minnesota, to introduce a resolution into the House of Representatives on May 15 condemning the use of "private armies" against strikes, and authorizing an investigation of the terror by "private armies" or the National Guard against the workers on strike. The Party began to organize a mass protest campaign against the terror. It looked upon the Lundeen resolution as a means to focus the attention of the whole country on the savage assaults being made on the working class, and to stimulate a mass protest movement against the terror. However, some serious errors were made in the *Daily Worker* when it first took up the question. An editorial in the *Daily Worker* (May 17) which hailed the introduction of the Lundeen resolution into Congress as a "victory" for the working class in its fight against terrorism, limited the question of the fight against the terror to organizing a movement in support of a Congressional investigation, and created the illusion that a Congressional investigation might bring in a report favoring the workers and end the terror conditions. The Central Committee corrected this opportunist approach to the question, in a statement of the Political Bureau (*Daily Worker,* May 23), which pointed out that the struggle against the terror must have the objective of organizing mass resistance of the working class involving the broadest masses, and that the utilization of the Lundeen resolution could only be at best a supplementary means of helping to organize a protest campaign against the armed attacks on the workers. After this correct criticism of opportunist errors, however, the *Daily Worker* had not one word to say about the Lundeen resolution, forgot about it completely, and made no effort to utilize it as it should have during the following weeks when the strike struggles and clashes with the armed forces of the state were becoming increasingly frequent.

These struggles reached their height in the magnificent strike of the Pacific Coast maritime workers and the general strike of over 125,000 workers in San Francisco and vicinity which took place on July 16, in support of the longshoremen and seamen. Due to the militant rank-and-file leadership of the maritime workers' strike, which united the workers in the reformist and revolutionary unions under the leadership of a joint strike committee with representatives from ten Maritime unions, the strike was subjected from the first to a heavy barrage from the capitalist press because of its "Communist leadership".

Their tactics were to attempt to break up the united front of the strikers and to split the rank and file away from the militant leadership, among whom were some Communists. This would have been the best means of breaking the backbone of the strike and driving the workers back to work under a sell-out agreement such as the A.F. of L. officials were vainly trying to put over. These tactics did not succeed, and the authority and prestige of the Communist Party constantly grew, as could be seen by the fact that the strike committee of the longshoremen in San Francisco adopted the *Western Worker,* official weekly organ of the Communist Party on the Pacific Coast, as their strike organ. Moreover, a powerful sentiment of solidarity swept the ranks of the workers, following the killing of two strike pickets, one a member of the Communist Party, and 40,000 workers participated in the funeral. In spite of the frantic efforts of the A.F. of L. leaders to prevent it, this solidarity movement finally developed into a general strike in San Francisco and neighboring cities, and in votes for similar action by the local unions of Portland, Seattle and San Pedro.

It was then that the drive against the strikers and the revolutionary workers' organizations was opened in all its fury by the joint efforts of the employers, the government, and the capitalist press, with the able assistance of the A.F. of L. officials who were from the first scheming to end the strike and betray the maritime workers to government arbitration. The press attempted to whip up an anti-Communist hysteria, and the Governor and Mayor made radio speeches denouncing the general strike as a "Communist attempt at revolution". General Hugh Johnson, head of the N.R.A., came to the strike scene and in a provocative speech at the University of California called upon the A.F. of L. leaders to wipe out "subversive elements" from the

trade unions, and openly encouraged attacks by fascist gangs against revolutionary workers. He branded the general strike as an "insurrection" and demanded that it be brought to a close, as the Federal Government would not countenance such threats. President William Green of the A.F. of L. issued a statement that the general strike was unauthorized by the A.F. of L. and in violation of its statutes. Mayor Rossi of San Francisco organized a Committee of 500 to combat "the Communists' attempt to starve the people". Governor Merriam of California ordered all available troops of the National Guard into the strike area and gave them orders to "shoot to kill". Troops of the U. S. Army were also held in readiness in their barracks. Secretary of Labor Perkins telegraphed that the Federal Government would cooperate in the rounding up of "alien agitators" and deporting them. With the stage thus set, beginning with the second day of the general strike, the terror struck. Along the entire Pacific Coast, from Seattle to San Diego, as if by plan, simultaneous raids were carried out within a period of a few days along a 2,000-mile front against headquarters of the Marine Workers Industrial Union, the Communist Party, the longshoremen's strike headquarters, and many other working class organizations. Fascist gangs of "Vigilantes" destroyed and burned at will, beat up any workers they found in the hall, and even carried through raids against the homes of revolutionary workers. These raids were followed up by "mopping up" operations of the police, who finished the job of destruction if anything had been overlooked by the fascist gangs, and arrested all workers found on the premises. The press reports about 500 arrests were made on the Pacific Coast. The printing plant of the *Western Worker* in San Francisco was burned to the ground, as were the headquarters of the Finnish Workers Club in Berkeley. Some of the Communists arrested were charged with criminal syndicalism, which carries heavy prison sentences, and the press reports that fourteen workers have already been ordered to be deported by the Federal authorities in San Francisco. The authorities announced that all meetings of the Communist Party in San Francisco would be prohibited, and that they would not be allowed to conduct an election campaign, although the Communist Party candidates are officially on the ballot in California.

That the terror was merely a preliminary for the breaking of the strike could be seen by the fact that on the day following the beginning of the raids, the A. F. of L. leaders railroaded a motion through the General Strike Committee calling for submitting the strikers' demands to arbitration, and a day later a motion was carried to call off the general strike. Although the press spread the slander that the raids were carried through by A.F. of L. workers who were incensed at the Communists, the real sentiments of the workers could be seen in the close margin by which the motions of the A.F. of L. misleaders carried even in a committee that was packed with A.F. of L. officials; the vote on the question of arbitration was 207 to 180, and on the calling off of the general strike, 191 to 176. That the drive was carried through by the closest cooperation between the employers and the government, could be seen by the fact that a prominent leader of the Industrial Association already hinted that raids would take place before they actually began, and the police timed their arrival at the workers' headquarters a short time after the fascists had completed their work of destruction. The role that the A.F. of L. leaders played in launching the fascist attacks is revealed in the July 8 issue of *Editor and Publisher* in an article which described the role of the "Newspaper Publishers Council" under the leadership of John Francis Neyland, attorney for the red-baiting Hearst newspapers, in breaking the strike. It says:

> "Under Mr. Neyland's leadership plans were made to crush the revolt. Mr. Neyland entered into negotiations with conservative labor leaders. . . . Conservative labor leaders welcomed this help, as they realized that Communists in control of maritime unions had stampeded other unions by saying this was the time for organized labor to take its place in the sun. Newspaper editorials built up the strength and influence of the conservative leaders and aided in splitting the conservative membership away from the radicals."

The newspaper publishers held a conference with General Johnson, following which the latter made his provocative speech which gave the cue to the fascist gangs. *Editor and Publisher* describes the success of the plan:

> "The strategy of Mr. Neyland and the publishers' council had now begun to work. . . . On Thursday the general strike was called off in San Francisco and the next day in the East Bay area. . . . As the strike collapsed the publishers' council endeavored to get things moving again."

Since the ending of the strike the A.F. of L. leadership has opened a campaign throughout the country to drive Communists out of the reformist unions, following the advice given them by General Hugh Johnson, head of the N.R.A.

Already before the general strike, the Party organized a nationwide campaign of protest against the shooting of workers and in support of the Pacific Coast strikers. As the general strike movement gained headway, the Party strove to organize a broad united front movement including the Socialist and A.F. of L. workers in support of the strike. In Cam-

den, N. J., these efforts resulted in the organization of a united front demonstration called jointly by a united front committee in which were represented the Central Labor Union, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, and revolutionary, reformist and independent unions. In New York City, six defence organizations including the Socialists, I.W.W., Musteites, the liberals, together with the International Labor Defense joined in a protest campaign against the terror wave, and formed a Committee for Workers Rights. The Party again and again raised the question of the Socialist Party joining in a united front against the red-baiting campaign which was unprecedented since the Palmer raids in 1919. Many District and local organizations of the Party also approached the Socialist organizations. The pressure was so great, that, although the Socialist Party leadership refused to reply to the united front offer of the Communist Party, the Socialist leaders were forced to make statements in the press and on the radio against the attacks on the Communist Party on the Pacific Coast. On the whole, however, the campaign of the Party was not on a sufficiently broad basis, and with few exceptions did not as yet succeed in drawing in the Socialist and A. F. of L. workers.

The Pacific Coast strike experiences and subsequent events (martial law declared in Minneapolis and Kohler, Wis., shootings in Cleveland, etc.), show that the Party must seriously undertake to organize a mass struggle against the rising wave of a terror launched against the working class movement in the United States. This raises as a central question the organization of a fight for the defense of the democratic rights of the workers, and the development of a real united front for struggle against the increasing tendencies toward fascism, linking this up with the struggle for economic demands. It is necessary to pay more attention to the growth and activities of the numerous fascist organizations in the United States; we must watch more closely their organization and program if we are to combat the growth of their influence among these strata most susceptible to the spread of fascist ideology, the petty bourgeoisie, veterans, farmers, professionals, etc., and win these elements to the side of the working class.

While the Party raised the slogan of organizing mass self-defence against attacks on workers' meetings and headquarters, the raids caught the Party unprepared and no serious resistance could be organized against the fascist gangs, even when the headquarters of the Marine Workers Industrial Union and the International Longshoremen's Association, the center for thousands of strike pickets, were raided. The slogan of mass self-defense against the terror must be translated into actual organization and put into action. Only the mobilization of the masses, Negro and whites, for the organization of workers' self-defense groups based upon the factories, trade unions, and other mass organizations, can defeat the terror. A nationwide protest movement against these attacks must include A.F. of L. and Socialist workers, and every trade union local and Socialist Party local must be approached to join in united front action with the revolutionary workers.

In order to insure uninterrupted leadership for the struggles of the workers the Party must prepare itself to function under conditions when more and more such attacks can be expected. In the main, the Party organizations in the South and on the Pacific Coast continued to function under difficult conditions. In San Francisco, the *Western Worker* was issued in mimeographed form immediately after the printing plant was destroyed, and illegal leaflets were issued during and after the general strike. The leadership remained intact in spite of mass arrests, but this is because the Party in the South and in California is already accustomed to working for some time under semi-legal and illegal conditions. It is necessary that the whole Party transform itself into readiness to function under any and all circumstances, under conditions of the sharpest repression, so as to maintain continuous contact with the workers and guide their struggles.

NEW PROVOCATION BY THE JAPANESE IMPERIALISTS

By TANAKA

THE Japanese imperialists are organizing a new impudent provocation against the Soviet Union. Having broken off negotiations for the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway and organized the arrest of the Soviet employees on the railway, they are trying to seize the C.E.R. by force of the mailed fist. The peace policy of the U.S.S.R. exposes them at every step. They are isolated even among the other imperialist powers who realize what risk is entailed for the capitalist regime in an attack on the land of great socialist construction. Only the most adventurous, the most active anti-Soviet forces in the camp of the bourgeoisie, such as Hitlerite fascism in Germany, promise support to the Japanese robbers. They are losing their heads, and seeking salvation in new military adventures. In this way they hope to delay the doom of their rotten and reactionary bourgeois-landlord system, against which indignation is continually growing in Japan itself. The weapon of provocation, deceit, slander and violence, all the springs of the rotten machine, have been set to work so as to give satisfaction to the vile war mongers who hide behind the smoke screen of falsely chauvinistic and openly bandit howls about "Great Japan", about the destiny of Japanese imperialism "to save" the peoples of Asia. With hands stained with the blood of many thousands of Manchurian workers and peasants, they are moving towards the Soviet railway, and the Soviet Far Eastern territories.

For do they not know that Japan is not united, that the Japan of the workers, toilers, peasants and the urban poor is not with them, that it is being drawn ever more powerfully and irresistably into the struggle against them, against their domination which brings untold calamities, poverty and oppression to the millions of toilers and exploited in the country? The Communist Party of Japan stands at the head of this struggle of the toiling masses against the imperialist war policy, and organizes it and leads it. In the rear of the robbers and the reactionary bandits, the camp of revolution is growing and extending. The Japanese Communists are carrying on their struggle stalwartly and courageously, surrounded by the sympathy and support of the masses, by their determination, steeled under the blows of fierce and savage repression. A year ago when the Soviet Union made its proposals to sell the C.E.R., in accordance with its consistent policy of peace, the central newspaper of the C.P. of Japan, the *Sekki* (No. 143 of June 21, 1933) wrote that the fact that negotiations had begun for the sale of the C.E.R. did not signify that the question of the C.E.R. would be settled peacefully, that the Japanese imperialists really intended to abandon the idea of violently seizing the railway, or that it was possible even to a slight degree to weaken the struggle against the plans of plunder entertained by the Japanese imperialists. The *Sekki* emphasized that "the Japanese imperialists who, by the use of violence, have stopped communications between the C.E.R. and the railway lines of the Soviet Union and have dismissed Soviet employees on their own authority, have more than half annexed the C.E.R." The Communist Party of Japan explained to the masses that "the defense of the fatherland of the workers and peasants, the defense of the Soviet Union, the struggle against the seizure of the C.E.R. and the struggle to bring about the destruction of the monarchy and against the political oppression of the masses is a real struggle which is inseparable from the struggle for the every-day interests of the workers, peasants, and all the toilers" (*Sekki, No.* 144).

The Communist Party of Japan carried through a day of struggle against the violent seizure of the C.E.R., a day of struggle against imperialist war and in defense of the U.S.S.R., on July 1, 1933. On this day the foremost detachments of the toiling masses of Japan came out on to the streets, and demonstrated their readiness to resist the plans of plunder entertained by the Japanese landowners and capitalists.

The workers and the toiling masses of Japan know that the present new wave of provocation against the Soviet Union has long since been prepared for by the Japanese imperialists. The newspaper *Nihon*, which represents the most reactionary and militant circles of monarchist Japan, started a campaign as early as May of this year for the breaking off of negotiations and for the violent seizure of the railway. The fascist-monarchist propagandists of "Japan's great mission in Asia", have been shouting for years about the seizure of the C.E.R. as a stage on the road to counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R., as a step along the path towards war to annex the Far East as far as Lake Baikal. The construction of an extensive line of airdromes in Manchuria, the reorganization of the South Manchurian Railway in such a way as to subordinate its work to their military annexationist plans, the construction of a new big naval port in North Korea, the reconstruction of the Japanese Army, the transfer of

enormous masses of military supplies to the mainland, the frantic propaganda in Japan itself about the "aggressiveness" of the U.S.S.R., the police-fascist hysteria and provocation against the heroic Communist Party of Japan, the unceasing attacks and provocation directed towards the seizure of the C.E.R., the mobilization of all forces and resources for the struggle against the irresistibly growing partisan movement in Manchuria—all these are links in the chain of provocatory preparations for annexation, links in the chain of impudent and open preparations for a military adventure. The feverish and shamelessly brazen speed with which these provocations are being made exposes the instigators of war. They are afraid of their own rear, they are afraid of the mass movement of the people against the reactionary slave-owners' war, they are afraid of the growth of the strength and influence of the C.P. of Japan, which is growing strong through trials, and is leading the masses with the unfailing compass of Bolshevism in its hand, against imperialism, against the military fascist camarilla, and against the black-hundred monarchy. The adventurists are playing with fire.

The Communist Party of Japan is at its post, at its international post as defender of the toilers of Japan, as defender of the international fatherland of the toilers and oppressed.

A REVIEW OF THE CANADIAN "COMMUNIST REVIEW"

By W. BARNES

THE publication of the illegal *Communist Review* in Canada, "devoted to the task of raising the ideological level of the revolutionary working class and the full clarification of all the problems which stand before it" (*Communist Review*—Introductory article) was only realized in March, 1934, 18 months after the Party had been declared illegal. The growth of the revolutionary movement and the sharpening of the class struggle and the fact that there has been a marked growth in the leading role of the Party over the struggles of the workers against the attacks of the bourgeoisie, and that it is growing as a result of this leadership, increase the importance of the *Communist Review* among the working class revolutionary press in Canada.

While to date only three issues have been published, we are nevertheless able to make an estimate of how it is fulfilling the tasks set forth in its introductory article. What are the main tasks confronting the Party and how has the *Communist Review* fulfilled its task of clarifying these problems, helping the Party to realize its tasks and raise the ideological level of the Party membership? The Third Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party set forth the following three main tasks:

> "1. The organization and leadership of economic struggles, building mass revolutionary trade unions, opposition groups in the reformist unions and a mass united front unemployed movement.
>
> "2. The transferring of the center of gravity of the whole work to the factories and mainly the concentration on large factories.
>
> "3. The rapid building of the Party, developing mass work, legal and illegal, to bring forward the leading role of the Party, extending our legal paper [The *Worker*—W.B.] into a mass paper and issuing illegal papers, exposing the social-fascists and winning the workers following them in mass united front struggles." (*Communist Review*, March, 1934.)

A perusal of the articles in the three issues shows that it has seriously endeavored to carry out the tasks which it was set. The articles deal with the basic tactical questions of the Party and the C.I., such as "Clarification of Our Situation and Tasks", "Economic Struggles, Our Work and Tasks", "Manifesto of the Party Against War", "Work in the Reformist Trade Unions", "Work Among the Unemployed", "Tasks of the Party in the Elections", "Work Among the French-Canadians", the Party Press, international questions and popularization of the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

All these articles popularize the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and are of urgent necessity for the guidance of current Party work today.

The article about the situation and tasks facing the Party is presumably a pre-convention article and gives an analysis of the present situation in Canada, showing the depth to which the economic crisis in Canada had gone. At the same time it shows that there has been a marked turn in production, especially in the production of raw materials, lumber and nickel, etc., and indicates a certain forward movement in the manufacturing industries. While correctly pointing out the effects of the pre-war and inflation conjuncture and adducing facts in proof of this, it neglects however, to stress the fact that what is taking place in Canada is the transfer to a depression of a special kind and that this transfer is being accomplished at the expense of the worsened conditions of the workers and farmers. "Under the influence", reads the article, "of speculative inflation and war preparations, it is not excluded that production may

even rise slightly temporarily", and "prosperity", is "but a short episode". The present situation in Canada, it continues, is merely another "stage in the crisis". The article is not based on the splendid analysis of the economic crisis made by Comrade Stalin at the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., to the effect that the "transition from the lowest point of decline of industry, from the lowest depth of the industrial crisis to a depression, not an ordinary depression, but to a depression of a special kind which does not lead to a new boom and flourishing industry, but which, on the other hand, does not force it back to the lowest point of decline". (Stalin, *Report to Seventeenth C.P.S.U. Congress.*)

In the section dealing with the Canadian bourgeoisie's attitude towards war it points out very clearly that "for Canadian imperialism, the fifth largest country in international trade, there is no solution of the problem of foreign markets except war", and shows that Canada is supporting the war moves of Japan directed against the Soviet Union. This is further emphasized in the Manifesto of the Party against war published in the *Review*. Canadian imperialism, striving to compensate itself for the losses suffered as a result of the shrinkage in trade with its biggest buyer, the U.S.A., has turned to Empire preferences and established a "closer alliance with British imperialism in the Anglo-American conflict". It is maneuvering within the orbit of this conflict and thus helps to sharpen the antagonisms between the two biggest imperialist powers.

In the article about the work of the Party, it is pointed out that while the Party has made many gains, has led the majority of strikes, most of which were successful, and almost all of the unemployed struggle, it has nevertheless "followed to a large degree the course of least resistance and has not determinedly steered a course for the organization and leadership of the struggles of the workers in a number of decisive industries". In organizing and leading these strikes and other mass actions, it "has not succeeded in building the Party itself". Opportunist passivity, underestimation of shop and trade union work, underestimation of the importance of immediate demands, are given as the main reasons for the unsuccessful attempts to penetrate the factories and work in the reformist unions. In the articles on economic struggles and work in the reformist unions this is further emphasized. The Party has made decisive headway in only ten to fifteen large enterprises. The article devoted to this question is lengthy and somewhat ponderous, and suffers from the shortcomings that most articles suffer from. While dealing with mistakes and shortcomings of the Party work, it does not deal sufficiently with the methods of correcting these weaknesses and shortcomings, on how to work in a factory, what forms of organization to adopt which will most correspond to the situation of the given factory. In addition the article does not analyze the work there and show how to improve it.

The article dealing with work in the reformist unions very sharply brings forward the main defects of our work in the reformist unions, and most resolutely exposes the various "theories" which hide the neglect of the work in these unions. Such an excuse for not wanting to work in the reformist trade unions is the assertion that the latter are dying off and that the workers in these unions are helplessly reactionary, etc. This neglect and such "theories", it states, prevent the masses from organizing a repulse to the "savage attacks upon the workers being put across"; the article further stresses and explains that the work in the reformist unions is one of the main decisive tasks of the Party.

The article on economic struggles is full of facts on the role of the Party and Workers' Unity League in leading economic struggles of the workers, on how they were led, and what were the results, mistakes and lessons. It also deals with work in the reformist unions, but it makes the error of not summarizing the general lines of our revolutionary strike strategy which could be used as a basis for further articles dealing in detail with strike strategy and tactics. The article shows that while we led 75 per cent of the 150 strikes at the end of 1933, winning 75 per cent of them, the consolidation and building of the Party during these strikes have been comparatively weak and our organizational strength is out of tune with our influence. The revolutionary unions, however, have increased their membership by nearly 20,000 in the past two years, and while one revolutionary union with a membership of over 2,000 has a Party fraction of 25, another with a membership of 400 has a fraction of 5. There are only 68 shop nuclei and the "Party has not yet found the ways and means to appear openly before the masses at all stages of the economic struggles as an organization, as the vanguard organization of the workers". To overcome this intolerable situation it is necessary to prove in action that the "Party policy and tactics in the economic struggles can and do lead to victories", and also show that the struggle for the immediate needs and demands "are interwoven with the general class struggle of the proletariat for the overthrow and destruction of capitalism, for the revolutionary way out of the crisis".

In the article on the work among the unemployed it is stated that failure of the Party to give proper attention to the unemployed work, to assign capable leading forces, to build Party fractions in the unemployed organizations, to effectively mobilize the workers for demonstrations, is responsible for the weakened leading role of the Party on the unemployed

front. This article is very critical and in very simple terms shows how unemployed work should be carried on. The campaign for unemployment insurance which is one of the major demands has "been allowed to drift and the demand has only spasmodically been put forward". The article demands that "Every District Committee, Sub-District and Section Committee must self-critically examine its work and draw up a program of action designed to overcome the glaring underestimation of this work".

In a discussion article on our work among the French-Canadians the question of fascism is raised and the national problem is treated. It must be stressed that neither of these two questions has been concretely analyzed in the Party press, both legal and illegal, and the most unclarity is to be met with, especially on the French-Canadian question. This article shows a number of weaknesses and and confusion which must quickly be corrected. One gains the impression that the writer of the article considers fascism as a movement of the petty bourgeoisie only, although he does not say so openly. In this article we do not find anything like the formulation that fascism is "the open, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital", which, "tries to secure a mass basis for monopoly capital among the petty bourgeoisie . . . and trying to penetrate into the working class". (Theses of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.) The impression of fascism as a petty-bourgeois movement is mistaken, dangerous and disorientates the Party and the toiling masses in the struggle against fascism.

On the national question, a complete lack of understanding and confusion are evident. The writer of the article does not "make of the French question in Canada a national problem", but at the same time recognizes "that the French Canadians form a nation, that is, they occupy a common territory; they speak a common language; they have a common culture and are bound by a common economy".

For this reason, therefore, he concludes that "our first slogan . . . should be 'The Right of self-Determination up to Separation'." The muddle displayed by the author can only lead to still further confusion on this question. It is obvious that if the French-Canadian question is "not a national question", the raising of this slogan is wrong. It becomes the obvious task of the *Communist Review* and the Party to publish an article in the immediate future, based on an analysis of concrete material and explaining the line of the Party on this question.

A number of serious questions have been omitted from the *Communist Review*. While it stressed the need for improvement of our work in the factories, in the reformist trade unions, in the leading of economic struggles of the workers, and building the Party and revolutionary unions, there is nothing in the journal which deals concretely with work among the farmers, how to penetrate the ranks of the farmers and build the Party among them. This is not accidental. There is a deep rooted underestimation of this work reflected also in our legal press. The agrarian problem is one of the most important problems confronting the Canadian Party today. The agrarian crisis has been aggravated by the severe drought which has destroyed thousands of acres of crops, bringing hundreds of farmers to abject ruin. The bourgeoisie are now making a savage offensive on the farmers in an effort to improve their own position. Recently the farmers of Western Canada held a united front conference for action and the Farmers' Unity League held its annual convention, yet of these, not a word is contained in the *Communist Review* which would be of guidance to the revolutionary farmers at both of these events. Such underestimation of work among the farmers leads to the strengthening of the hold of the reformists among the farmers and especially the fascists in Quebec. This neglect must be immediately corrected in the forthcoming issues of the *Communist Review*. The lessons and tasks formulated at the two conferences must be popularized among the broad mass of farmers, the Party must be mobilized for this work.

A big defect in the *Communist Review* is that up to now there has been an absence of a constant review of experience of Party work based on concrete examples of good and bad work in a given district, section, factory and street nucleus, a Party fraction in a trade union or mass organization. A special section should be devoted in each issue to the inner organization and life of the Party and problems confronting the different units.

More detailed articles should be published dealing with problems of strike strategy and tactics, thus equipping our comrades who lead strikes on questions regarding the organization and leadership of strikes. The *Communist Review* shoud deal with questions of the training and promotion of cadres of strike leaders, trade union functionaries and Party organizers. It must popularize more than hitherto the decisions of the Comintern and ensure that the theories of Marx and Lenin are studied.

It should be stated that, in the main, the articles are well written, in simple language, although some are inclined to be somewhat ponderous.

In addition there are a number of technical shortcomings. It is still appearing as a mimeographed bulletin. But these shortcomings will be overcome with the development and consolidation of our illegal press apparatus. The *Communist Review* is on the right road to the fulfilment of the tasks set before it, is on the right road leading towards becoming the leading theoretical and political organ of the revolutionary movement in Canada.

REVIEW OF THE UNDERGROUND COMMUNIST PRESS IN KUOMINTANG CHINA

By LEE MIN

I

IN CONDITIONS of extreme illegality and of unparalleled White terror in Kuomintang China, when heads are cut for the distribution of Communist leaflets or even for the mere reading of them, when illegal printing plants are lost, first in one place and then in another, as a result of police raids and provocation, the task of publishing Party newspapers and journals is naturally an exceedingly difficult matter.

However, despite all these difficulties, our Party has been able to ensure the regular publication of a large amount of Communist literature. The importance of this literature can be judged even from an article published in the Kuomintang journal *Sweat and Blood* entitled "An Analysis of the Propagandist Activity of the Red Bandits". This article uneasily estimates the enormous influence wielded by Communist literature and deals with the tactics and methods of Communist propaganda, as well as giving a list of Communist papers. The facts mentioned in this article are so interesting that it is worth while quoting whole paragraphs from it. After giving a detailed account of the state of our press, the article continues as follows:

"Inner Party literature. As for propagandist literature, the Red Bandits publish periodicals in addition to theoretical books on historical materialism, *e.g.*:

"1. Inner-Party life. Non-periodical literature which is published by the so-called Organization Department of the C.C. It contains mainly (1) information, (2) instructions, (3) the most important Party decisions and announcements regarding Party penalties and expulsions.

"2. Party structure. Non-periodical literature issued by the so-called Org. Dept. of the C.C. It deals mainly with: (1) concrete organizational questions, (2) organizational questions concerning China, (3) technical questions of confidential work, (4) questions of Party education.

"II. *Mass Literature.*

"a. Theoretical literature, circulated among the comparatively highly developed intellectuals.

"1. *The Bolshevik* (a magazine).

"(1) Published by the so-called Agitprop Dept. of the C.C.

"(2) Published once a month. (Has not been published for a year; the last number appeared in July, 1932.)

"(3) Nature of magazine—study of theory, and the discussion of political qusetions.

"2. *Struggle* (a magazine).

"(1) Published by the so-called Agitprop Dept. of the C.C.

"(2) Published at irregular intervals.

"(3) Nature of magazine—the theory of the inner-Party struggle.

"3. *The Red Army* (a newspaper).

"(1) Published by the Agitprop Dept. of the C.C.

"(2) Published weekly.

"(3) Nature of paper—a chronicle of current questions (the nature of this paper is similar to the previously existing paper called *Sian-Dao* (*The Conductor*).

". . . E. *Small Newspapers.*

"They are distributed mostly among the rank and file of the Chinese masses and have a comparatively extensive influence among them.

"I. *Papers for general circulation.*

"Distributed legally or illegally.

"1. *Title of papers:*

"a. *Pravda.*

"b. *Truth.*

"c. *Honesty.*

"d. *The Shanghai Toiler.*

"2. Nature of papers—shouts about politics, false ideas, provocation.

"II. *Factory papers.* Their chief object is the working class.

"1. Aim and method.

"At every factory the Red Bandits issue small papers, like leaflets, which are printed on duplicators or regular printing machines. They are hung on the walls of the factories or outside the factories, so as to make it easier to spread propaganda among the workers.

"2. Contents of the papers:

"(1) Mainly a description of the life of the workers, political information and short articles about the lives of the workers.

"(2) They are written in the language of the workers, and those which are written in the simplest language are regarded as the best. Very many illustrations, songs and exciting slogans are published in them, and the masses give way very easily to this agitation.

"F. Wall newspapers. With the help of wall-papers, agitation is carried on in a semi-concealed form in various legal organizations.

"1. School wall-papers. The Red elements concealed in the schools publish wall newspapers as

a means of propaganda, under the pretense of a students' society.

"Their contents are as follows:

"a. Political news of a Left tendency.

"b. Accusations against the government about mistakes.

"c. Radical articles.

"d. Proletarian literature and art.

"2. Wall-papers in the factories (similar to the small factory papers.)

". . . R. *Illustrated papers.*

"These are intended for illiterate workers and soldiers. By simple pictures they spread their agitation among the latter.

"I. Categories of papers.

"a. Illustrated papers which are printed on duplicators or typewriters. In these papers they put extremely simple drawings or a whole series of drawings which continuously show the development of some event or phenomenon. These papers are illegally distributed among the workers in the factories and also among the soldiers.

"b. With a view to carrying on agitation among the workers, they cover the walls and gates of the factories with various posters, caricatures and symbolic sketches, done with the aid of brush and whitewash. (They work under the same conditions as the pavement chalkers' detachments.)

". . . V. *Leaflets.*

"These are distributed illegally in the streets and towns.

"D. *Slogans.*

"Slogans printed on small bits of paper are illegally distributed in the streets, and are thrown from the roofs of houses at places of amusement. . . .

" . . . Publication of books.

"In order to strengthen belief in the Communists, the publication of various books on Marxism is a most important section of their activity.

"I. Translations.

"Various scientific publications from Soviet Russia and the world labor movement are translated.

". . . Pamphlets. The aim of these is to discuss all kinds of concrete questions, and they are of enormous importance for propaganda.

"*I. Collections of books for the study of the U.S.S.R.*

"1. Two Five-Year Plans.

"2. The capitalist world and the U.S.S.R.

"3. The fifteenth anniversary of the October Revolution.

"*II. Penny booklets* (*price* 1 *tsio*).

"1. The Second Five-Year Plan.

"2. Proletarian literature and art.

"3. The new woman in the U.S.S.R.

"4. The finances of China and foreign states after the war.

"5. The state.

"6. The renegade Kautsky.

"7. The October Revolution.

"8. Other pamphlets and various articles.

". . . O. Groups of worker and peasant correspondents. These are the information agents of the Red Bandits, and their work is to collect information and hand it in to the Party organizations.

"I. Their organizations.

"a. The chief correspondence department of the C.C. forms its own departments in various places, sends out its correspondents who are constantly busy collecting and handing in all kinds of information at all points.

"b. Almost every correspondent is a member of a propagandist detachment, and is usually occupied with 'political reports' or 'lectures on current questions'.

"II. Their aim:

"The rapid spread of news and the extension of propaganda.

"IV.

". . . K. Pavement chalkers.

"In their everyday work in the towns, the Communists form bands of pavement chalkers in order to show the rapidity and influence of their propaganda. These people use chalk and pencil to decorate the sides of the streets at unknown hours, with slogans and posters.

"I. Most of these groups are composed of the members of each cell, and work in places where the police are inattentive, and where there are few people. They do their work late at night or early in the morning. They work in twos—one writes and the other watches. In addition, at the end of the posters they put certain signs so as to assist those engaged in checking the 'work' done.

". . . S. Advertising detachments.

"The legal advertisements which they post up are filled with ideas of class struggle. They influence advertisement painters and workers employed by the billboard companies to join their advertisement detachments and spread their propaganda, thereby making use of the most favorable conditions."

The author of this article, who makes use of police information, only refers to the Communist press confiscated by the police or the Blue Shirts, and to our methods of work of which they are aware. Therefore his review is not able to give a full picture of our literature in all its variety and wealth.

On the basis of the Party material which we have received, we may add that in addition to the above-mentioned publications and forms of work for its distribution, many other Communist mass publications are issued.

Frightened by the tempestuous growth of the influence of our propaganda and in order to carry on a struggle against it the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek organize so-called drives for the destruction of the literature of the "Red bandits". Following on these drives, they have after the fashion of Hitler, prohibited and burned an enormous number of books and magazines, and many Left writers have been arrested and shot. However, despite all this,

legal and semi-legal mass revolutionary literature is still published in enormous quantities in many provinces. The Communist Party of China has tremendous achievements in this sphere.

II

We are unable to give an exhaustive characterization of the Communist press, as we do not receive it regularly and completely. We can only speak in a general way of the quality and the contents of these publications.

During the last few years, in connection with Japan's annexationist policy, and the stormy development of the revolutionary movement, our press in Kuomintang China has paid special attention to the question of the development of the national revolutionary struggle against the Japanese and other imperialists. Our press concentrates its attention on the question of creating a proletarian backbone in the mass anti-imperialist movement and in its leadership, on the question of the preparation and leadership of strikes, and on the task of converting the Red trade unions into real mass organizations, etc. We may boldly state that almost half the articles in the Party newspapers and magazines recently published in Kuomintang China have dealt with these very questions.

> ". . . Unless the present-day anti-imperialist movement is provided with a proletarian backbone," writse the central Party paper *Struggle* in issue number 14, "unless we have revolutionary organizations of the broad proletarian masses (mass Red trade unions, strike committees, anti-imperialist leagues, workers' pickets, workers' volunteer detachments, etc.) it is impossible to bring about a really revolutionary united front, and impossible to bring about the hegemony of the proletariat in the national revolutionary struggle."

The struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat in the anti-imperialist movement demands first and foremost the merciless exposure of the national and social demagogy of the Kuomintang. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik C.C. of the Party our press has been able to consistently expose such counter-revolutionary slogans of the ruling classes of China, as "The struggle against the foreign enemy requires, first of all the defeat of the internal enemy", "The Red Army is hindering us in the rear", "Preparations for prolonged resistance to Japan", etc., and is doing this step by step, utilizing concrete examples of the treachery and capitulation of the Kuomintang to the imperialists.

The central newspaper of the Party, *Struggle*, has succeeded in giving correct and clear analyses of every step taken by the Japanese and other imperialists toward the partition and redivision of China.

The slogans of the national revolutionary struggle of the armed people against the Japanese and other imperialists for the independence and unity of China, for the overthrow of the power of the Kuomintang, as a necessary condition for success in this struggle, and the call of the Chinese Soviet Government and the Revolutionary Military Council of the Red Army for a united front against Japanese imperialism, are very widely and popularly explained on the pages of our newspapers.

The central newspaper of the Party carried on a very successful campaign exposing the real meaning of the notorious "Tangu agreement" signed at Tangu with the Japanese invaders, which the Kuomintang widely advertised as an "exceptionally military act", as the policy of "obtaining a breathing space".

Our press published the text of this agreement (the recognition of Manchukuo, the giving of complete rights to Japan to keep its navy in Chinese waters, etc.), and plainly showed this agreement at Tangu as an example of the treacherous capitulatory policy of the Kuomintang, that Japanese imperialism agreed to this truce because it would make it possible for the Kuomintang to transfer its troops from the Northern front to participate in a drive against the Chinese Soviets and the Red Army.

Our press carried on a big campaign exposing the American "cotton and wheat loan", the British, Belgian, German and other loans obtained by the Nanking Government on the pretext of "reconstructing the country", loans which in practice were almost entirely spent on the struggle against Soviet revolution, on organizing the sixth counter-revolutionary drive against Soviet China.

It is precisely under the pressure of this systematic and decisive exposure of the treacherous and deceitful policy of the Kuomintang that a tremendous process of revolutionization is taking place in China among millions of the desperate masses, among the soldiers in the Kuomintang armies and among the radical intellectuals. The existence of this spontaneous process is confirmed by the tremendous urge toward the Communist Party, as expressed, for example, in the fact that under the influence of our press, revolutionary-minded students leave their families and come from distant provinces to Shanghai to seek out our Party organization, striving to become active fighters in its ranks. Even some Chinese bourgeois scientists, influenced by our press and by the revolutionization of the masses, have been compelled to recognize the treachery of the Kuomintang and to state that "if Communism can offer real resistance to Japan, then Communism is better than the betrayal of our country" (the newspaper *I-shi-bao*, December 1933).

Our central Party organ directs the activity of

the various anti-imperialist organizations, preparing the masses for every big revolutionary action (September 18—anniversary of the seizure of Manchuria by the Japanese imperialists; January 28—the anniversary of the defense of Shanghai against the offensive of the Japanese troops; May 1, August 1, the anniversary of the October Revolution, the anniversary of the formation of the Chinese Soviet Government, etc.), and sums up the results of the struggle, pointing out positive and negative lessons to be learned. Our central Party paper does not limit itself to elaborating the general line, but simultaneously sharply criticizes various Party organizations and the Y.C.L. for their mistakes in the campaign for the collection of money for the Manchurian volunteer detachments, for the absence of concreteness in the March 18 campaign of struggle against Japanese imperialism, etc.

In the sphere of the T.U. movement, our press has made a big step forward in the sense that, while in every concrete case exposing the treacherous policy of the Kuomintang and the yellow trade union leaders, it participates in working out the tactics to be used in strikes, in organizing working class solidarity, and in drawing the employed and unemployed into the strike struggle, etc.

Following the example of the number of strikes successfully conducted this year (at the Anglo-American Tobacco Company, on the street cars, at the telephone exchange, the struggle of the workers in the big publishing enterprise, the *Commercial press,* etc.), our press has given wide publicity to the experience and lessons of the preparation and leadership of the strike struggle, to the concreteness and conciseness of the workers' demands during the strikes, to the necessity for organization and prompt mobilization of the masses, and broadening the composition of the strike committees, etc.

Our press has utilized the example provided by a number of spontaneous strikes, miners' strike, the Canton seamen, longshoremen, etc., to emphasize how very much we are still lagging behind in the struggle for the leadership of the movements of the working class, while pointing to our success in forming Red trade union organizations in some enterprises (municipal, railroad, printing, etc.), and in rallying the unemployed. Our press has at the same time developed self-criticism in respect to the Tientsin and Shanghai organizations which have in the recent period weakened their work among the textile workers, silk spinners, etc.

Our press carries on a decisive struggle against Right and sectarian mistakes and sentiments, against manifestations of opportunism in practice on the part of various workers which is a very great hindrance to the process of winning over the masses of the workers in the yellow trade unions, and also carries on activity so as to get possession of and lead the strikes which take place spontaneously.

Without exception, all the political campaigns and actions conducted by the press in the recent period have been much better linked up than previously with the triple task facing the Communist Party, namely, the struggle to drive out the imperialists, to overthrow the power of the Kuomintang, and to consolidate and extend the Soviet revolution. The slogan that every strike of the workers, every revolutionary demonstration and action against imperialism and the Kuomintang means at the same time real support for the Soviet Republic and its Red Army, as the only power and army in China capable of driving out the imperialists and defending the independence and territorial integrity of the country, is explained in the whole of our press every day.

Our Party has been able through our press to organize among the workers, the urban poor, the revolutionary intellectuals and the toiling masses in Kuomintang China, forms of concrete help for the Red Army such as the floating of a loan for the struggle against the counter-revolutionary drives of the Kuomintang, and the collection of funds for the purchase of airplanes for the Red Army. Considerable sums have been collected in Shanghai in this way, and money is being collected among the youth of Hopei for the purchase of an airplane to be named, the "Hopei Youth," etc.

One of the biggest achievements of our press in Kuomintang China consists of the fact that it is flexible and confident in carrying out the slogans of the Party regarding the defense of the U.S.S.R. against the imperialist onslaught being prepared against it. Our press, like the Party as a whole, links up the slogan of the defense of the U.S.S.R. organically with the task of mobilizing the masses under the slogan of the national revolutionary struggle of the armed people against Japanese and other imperialists. The armed defense of the U.S.S.R. against the imperialist and Kuomintang attacks, is the slogan which arises from the concrete way in which this question is placed before the masses. Our press explains that any attempt to counterpose the slogan of the national revolutionary war against the slogan of the defense of the U.S.S.R. is incorrect and anti-Leninist and only plays into the hands of counter-revolutionary Kuomintang agitation.

The illegal press of our Party has widely organized the popularization of the achievements of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., the results of the First Five-Year Plan and the successful struggle being carried on to fulfill the Second Five-Year Plan. For this purpose the Party makes wide use of legal and semi-legal publications in addition to the illegal press, and even uses some of the bourgeois press. Our press in Kuomintang China is filled with more

facts and figures relating to the U.S.S.R. than the press in the Soviet Districts.

Our Party decisively exposes on the pages of our press the counter-revolutionary attacks made by Chinese renegades (Yu-Fei, Sunsigen, etc.), directed against the Comintern, the Communist Party of China and its Bolshevik C.C. As is well known, the renegades have chosen the question of the role of the proletariat in the Chinese revolution as the center of attack in their "appeals" (they completely deny the role of the Chinese proletariat as the leading force in the revolution). They talk about the "artificial implanting" of Marxism-Leninism by the Communist Party under the leadership of the "Stalinists faction", and the "betrayal of the national interests by the Communists Party", etc.

The struggle against the renegades has been connected up with the struggle against provocation, and for the improvement of Party technique and conspiracy, the political significance of which is frequently underestimated by our comrades.

Our press has carried on a Bolshevik struggle on two fronts for the general line of the Communist Party and the Comintern, against Right opportunism as the main danger at the given stage of the revolution, against "Left" opportunism, against conciliation towards them, and against all repetitions of the ideas of Chen Du-su, Li Li-hsian and Lo Chong Lung, decisively repulsing every slightest deviation from the Leninist policy in every concrete question.

And if the Communist Party of China has become a united Party at the present time, welded together and ideologically monolithic as never before, an extremely important role in achieving this has been played by our Bolshevik press.

Finally it is necessary to point to the successful conduct in our press of campaigns to recruit members to the Party in connection with the anniversaries of the events of September 18 and January 28.

"Comrades, strengthen the united revolutionary front against imperialism by joining the Communist Party", "Support and strengthen the Red Army by joining the Communist Party", "Advanced workers, reply to the new treachery of the Kuomintang by joining the Communist Party in masses", etc.—such are the slogans under which the press of the Shanghai organization called on the workers to join the ranks of the Party.

The methods of revolutionary competition were widely used in these campaigns. Red and black lists were introduced in the pages of the *Leninist Life*. Competitions were held between the Party organizations of Shanghai and Hopei.

On the pages of the *Leninist Life*, there was organized an interchange of the experience of districts and cells in regard to attracting new members into the Communist Party, which brought to light mistakes and shortcomings, ensured operative leadership and gave concrete instructions without delay as to their rectification.

Some of the section organizations in Shanghai did not make preparations at the time for the reception of the new members. As a result, at the beginning of the campaign the regulation of the acceptance of the new members was held up, and the task of linking them up, of educating the new Party members and the distribution of Party duties, and the struggle against fluctuations of membership were not at the necessary level. The *Leninist Life* shows that these shortcomings were corrected to a considerable degree even during the campaign itself. The September 18 drive in 1932 produced 94 new factory cells and 1,276 new Party members in the Shanghai organization alone.

These campaigns were linked up at the same time with the struggle to increase the circulation of the Party newspapers. The central newspapers of the Party, the *Struggle* and the *Red Flag*, have each a circulation of 3,000 copies. As a result of the work carried on the number of copies reprinted in the localities has considerably increased.

Finally we should once more emphasize as a success of our Party, its ability to combine the publication of legal and illegal literature. Many comrades and revolutionary writers have learned to write in this legal press in fable language. While not speaking outright of the treachery of the Kuomintang, the Soviet power, the Communist Party, etc., they use other terms which can be understood by the Party members and the masses. Therefore even in the most illegal conditions, our Party has been able to keep close contacts with the broad masses.

At the same time, alongside these great achievements, the press still has a large number of shortcomings which undoubtedly interfere with its further growth and the consolidation of the influence of the Party in conditions of the growing development of the Chinese revolution.

In the Party and mass papers there are many agitational and propagandist articles with stereotyped contents. Whatever question is touched on in these articles, the same stereotyped forms are used, beginning with the defense of the Soviet districts and the Red Army and ending with the struggle on two fronts. Sometimes, Party political slogans, unconnected with the life of the masses, are simply mechanically lumped together, and printed without any connection with concrete facts.

Among the other shortcomings in our agitation is the insufficient differentiation of our approach to various strata (workers, peasants, soldiers, students, etc.). Many trade union papers and other papers of the mass organizations are hardly to be distin-

guished from purely Party papers. Articles are too long and complicated. The language is not simple and understandable to the masses. This is not a technical matter but is of great political importance, because language which cannot be understood not only lessens the effect of our propaganda, but helps to lose it altogether. Propagandists teach the masses, but they must themselves learn from the masses.

In the Party and mass papers there is very little correspondence from workers, peasants, Red Army men, students, etc. This shows the insufficient contacts of our press with the broad masses, and makes it difficult for our Party to react quickly to the sentiments and everyday needs of the toiling masses.

Many articles completely fail to meet the demands of conspiracy. They sometimes write about the actual address of our organizations, about the number of members, give names, etc., which objectively makes it easier for the police and Kuomintang spies and the imperialists to destroy these organizations.

In the conditions of Kuomintang and imperialist terror, our press must be the organizer and tribunal of the Chinese people. It must rapidly overcome all these shortcomings, widen the contacts of the Party with the masses of the people, and raise still higher the influence and authority of our Party which is leading the struggle of millions of the toilers in China for the liberation of the Chinese people from the imperialists and militarists, and for the victory of the Soviet Power throughout China.

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